

Experiences of everyday hate and hate crime in the lives of disabled people: meaning-making, impressions, and resistance

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Abstract

This aim of this research was to explore the different ways that disabled people come to understand, negotiate and resist their experiences of ‘everyday hate.’ In doing so, this work has moved away from narrow conceptualisations of hate crime, and raised awareness of the diverse ways that hate can be experienced and felt within everyday life. Drawing upon Sara Ahmed’s ‘circulation of hate,’ this analysis shows how hate moves within different spaces and becomes ‘stuck’ upon other bodies. The research employs a geographical analysis of hate in order to recognise the different spaces that hate occurs within, and thus better understand how disabled people feel when occupying these spaces. Such an approach argues that experiences of hate shape the way that disabled people think about themselves and their sense of belonging within the spaces around them. As a result, the research shares a diversity of ways that disabled people can come to negotiate these spaces. This includes strategies of avoidance, making sense of, and re-making identity, and enduring additional emotional and physical labour. Moving beyond this, this research contributes more affirmative understandings of hate crime, by sharing the diverse ways that disabled people actively navigate and resist experiences of hate within their everyday lives. Such an approach recognises disabled people as developing a unique understanding of *being* within the social world. To further harness this knowledge, this thesis poses questions about the role of future research and the potential for greater collaboration with disabled people and their wider communities.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Violence against disabled people is not a new phenomenon, nor is it a crime limited to England and Wales. In the many different ways that it manifests, violence against disabled people is a global phenomenon (Macdonald, 2015) that is backed by a history of oppression, mistreatment, and exclusion. Disability hate crimes, then, are part of a much broader set of exclusions and violence that create and reinforce barriers for many disabled people in their everyday lives (Roulstone and Mason-Bish, 2013; Sherry, 2010). The context of the ‘everyday’ is a central part of this thesis in order to uncover the mundane ways that hate comes to move within the everyday lives of disabled people. Indeed, an exploration of ‘the everyday’ pays attention to that which becomes ordinary for individuals; their routines, familiar spaces, and recurrent encounters. According to Wood (2014: 217), ‘a focus on the everyday, therefore, is also a political stance that aims to give voice to marginalized groups and pay attention to spaces previously rendered invisible.’ Within this approach, it is important to make visible the spaces that are important to the everyday lives of participants.

A consideration of the everyday pays attention to the mundane nature of hate that many disabled people encounter on a regular basis. For example, previous research suggests that disabled people are more likely to be repeat ‘victims’ of hate crime (Wilkin, 2020). In addition, we know that for many disabled people, ‘low-level’ incidents, such as hate speech, are far more common than the physically violent acts that capture the imagination of the media (Sherry et al, 2020). Indeed, disability hate speech has become part of a culturally accepted discourse, often articulated under the veil of ‘banter’ (Levin, 2013). As a result, experiences of hate speech and other mundane incidents are paradoxically present while being absent from view. Evidence reported by the Equality and Human Rights Commission (2011[EHRC]) demonstrated the pervasive nature of ‘disability-related harassment’ despite being largely ‘hidden in plain sight.’ Thus, many disabled people who experience these hateful encounters come to accept hate as an ordinary part of their day-to-day lives. Moreover, research suggests that this anticipation of hate might be more prominently felt in particular spaces, such as public transport (Wilkin, 2020), online

communication sites (Sherry, 2020), and social hubs within the city (Hall and Bates, 2019). Despite these much needed insights to the realities of everyday hate for many disabled people, there remains an urgent need to better understand the intricacies of everyday hate in order to generate more effective responses. These aims are central to this thesis, which seeks to explore the way in which hate moves within the everyday lives of disabled people, and through the ordinary spaces that they occupy.

England and Wales is regarded to have one of the most developed policy responses to hate crime across the globe (Tyson et al, 2015). However, the understanding, awareness and legislation for disability hate crime has been argued to be lagging behind (Roulstone et al, 2011). Premised upon the assumption that no-one can *really* hate disabled people, there remains to be a widespread disbelief that disability hate crime exists at all (Sherry, 2010). Rather, many crimes experienced by disabled people are attributed to their perceived vulnerability (Roulstone et al, 2011). In addition, police recorded statistics in England and Wales continue to vastly underrepresent the story of disability hate crime. Although disability has been included in hate crime policy since 2005 under the Criminal Justice Act 2003, the number of recorded disability hate crimes is significantly lower than that reported by the Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW). For example, while figures for CSEW in 2018/19 are not yet available, it is noteworthy that the combined 2015/16 to 2017/18 dataset estimates around 52,000 disability hate crimes each year compared to the 7,226 that were recorded by the police (Home Office, 2018: 27). These figures are supported by the understanding that many disabled people face barriers when attempting to report their experiences (Sin, 2015) in addition to the normalisation of these crimes for many individuals (Smith, 2015). By engaging with the experiences of disabled people, this thesis seeks to contribute to our understanding of these barriers and how they are affectively experienced by individuals.

Further barriers have been reported regarding the ambiguous nature of the definition of disability hate crime, and hate crime more generally. Indeed, there is a 'gap' between the way in which academics have come to conceptualise hate and the way that this experience is lived out in reality (Chakraborti, 2015a;2018). This 'gap' is explored in greater depth throughout this thesis by attending to the way in which disabled people have come to understand the concept of hate crime, and how they

have also come to frame their own experiences of hate. A move to experiential understandings of hate is crucial, as Wilkin (2020: 5) explains:

To focus entirely on purely formal definitions would be to limit our understanding of hate crime to prescribed proclamations. To do so would be to obscure the emotion, the anger and the fear that hate crimes produce.

With this in mind, a central aim of this thesis is to engage directly with disabled people and learn about disability hate crime through their understandings, experiences, and reflections. Such engagement is crucial in order to work towards a conceptualisation of hate that can account for the intricacies of everyday hate experienced by many disabled people and other marginalized groups.

Terminology

A short note on terminology is necessary in order to account for the terminological choices made throughout this thesis and, in particular, how these choices have been informed by research findings. As I have described above, this thesis is concerned with experiences of ‘everyday hate’ and hate crime. While the legal definition of hate crime is limited to those acts deemed to be criminal offences, I use these terms interchangeably throughout the thesis. Doing so is intentional, in order to call for a broader conceptualisation of hate crime that can attend to the everyday experiences of many disabled people, who encounter hate incidents on a regular basis. Moreover, a focus upon the ‘everyday’ invites greater consideration of the way that the circulation of hate within ordinary spaces comes to ‘other’ certain figures. Drawing upon the work of Ahmed (2014), the circulation of hate depends upon orientations to the ‘other’ who are read collectively as inherently apart from ‘us.’ As I discuss throughout chapter three, this process of othering is vital to understanding the way that hate circulates between bodies, and sustains population boundaries.

In addition, I refer to ‘disability’ hate crime, rather than ‘disablist’ hate crime, which was the preferred term before beginning this project. Indeed, Roulstone and Mason-Bish (2013) argue that the term ‘disablist hate crime’ is preferable over the more typically known ‘disability hate crime’ in order to account for the positioning of hate crime within broader systems of disablism. According to the Department for Work

and Pensions (DWP, 2012) many disabled people and disabled people's organizations (DPOs) also prefer the term 'disablist hate crime' in order to position the perpetrator as the problem. However, when I originally used this term within the research, the term was met with confusion, and most participants showed greater familiarity with 'disability hate crime.' With the understanding of hate crime, in and of itself a point of contention, I therefore decided early in the project to adopt the more generally known term, 'disability hate crime.' Additionally, the definition of 'disability' that is suggested by the social model of disability emphasises the structural and systematic barriers that create disability (Beckett and Campbell, 2015). According to this model, disability is socially constructed, and imposed upon people with impairments. Therefore, by employing this definition of disability, the concept 'disability hate crime' is able to capture the structural explanations of hate crime that are proposed in this thesis.

Positionality and rationale

No single moment marks the beginning or end of this thesis, but there are certainly some moments that were critical to the early inceptions of this research project about disabled people's experiences of hate crime. The most notable moment follows the submission of my undergraduate dissertation at Liverpool Hope University in Education (Special Educational Needs). To congratulate this achievement, my partner, a biochemist, found himself navigating the Sociology section of Waterstones to buy me a book. I don't think either of us could have imagined that the book he presented me with in May 2015 would have shaped my journey to this thesis in the way that it did. Published in 2011 by Katherine Quarmby, the aforementioned book was '*Scapegoat: Why we are failing disabled people*' and has been a staple of mine building up to, and throughout, this thesis. In many ways, my early readings of this book affected me in similar ways that doing this research project has. It was captivating yet discomforting, and left me pondering a kaleidoscope of emotions. Anger, sadness, and heartbreak coupled with an overwhelming sense of determinism and passion. These affects have stayed with me throughout this PhD.

This project has been developed out of a backdrop of research investigating disability hate crime. Included within this array of literature are two research projects that I conducted as part of two Masters degrees. While these two earlier and much smaller

projects focused upon ‘disablist hate speech,’ they have nonetheless informed some of the fundamental aims of this PhD project. The first project, conducted between 2015-2016 was an analysis of ‘disablist hate speech’ upon the online platform, Reddit. The research was situated within the ongoing context of austerity politics which had generated widespread narratives of disabled people as burdens, scroungers, and fraudsters. In this project, I argued that ‘disablist hate speech’ was both implicitly and explicitly present upon online discourses, and ultimately functioned ‘to preserve ableist relations in a climate of austerity’ (Burch, 2018: 406; See also Burch, 2020b). Indeed, by analysing the way in which disabled people were positioned as an inferior other, ‘disablist hate speech’ was suggested to operate, ‘by driving up the ontological security of the “hardworking taxpayer” and simultaneously branding disabled people with scars of austerity’ (Burch, 2018: 406). Moreover, drawing upon long-standing attitudes regarding euthanasia, prenatal abortion, and dependency, much of the ‘disablist hate speech’ examined within this project was argued to undermine disabled people’s quality of life, leading to dangerous questions about their very right to existence (Burch, 2020b). This project therefore provided an abundance of examples of online ‘disablist hate speech’ based within the broader context of austerity politics. Such findings are crucial in order to evidence against the disbelief that disablist attitudes exist, yet they fail to capture the everyday reality of this discourse for disabled people.

My next research project asked different questions about ‘disablist hate speech.’ Moving beyond a recognition and contextualisation of hate speech, I sought to explore disabled people’s experiences of this phenomenon, narrated by their own personal stories. More specifically, the project sought to ‘forge links between conceptual debates and everyday realities in order to generate a more nuanced understanding of disablist hate speech that is informed by and through lived experience’ (Burch, 2020a: 67). I employed storytelling as a research tool to create a safe and exploratory space where participants could take ownership of oppressive experiences and make meanings of these encounters in new and reflective ways (Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007). These stories demonstrated the mundane and consistent nature of hate speech, resulting in the normalisation of hate and the lack of confidence to report experiences. In addition, participants commented upon the vitriolic nature of austerity politics, which they believed to have hardened attitudes towards disabled people. Yet, they

also shared intricate ways that they had begun to resist hate, calling upon the educational potential of honesty and humour (Burch, 2020a).

These small-scale research projects offered a brief insight to understanding experiences of disablist hate speech, with a particular focus upon the context of austerity. At the same time, they raised a number of questions concerning the ambiguous nature of hate, the blurry boundaries between everyday hate incidents and hate crimes, and the need to better understand the complexity and realities of hate crime. Indeed, they call for a more nuanced understanding of the ways that hate is perceived, the way it harms, and the way that it is negotiated. Exploring these questions in more detail is imperative in order to better understand the different ways that hate is experienced, understood, and felt by those targeted. Moreover, it is crucial to develop more effective ways of working with disabled people within the community, and between organizations, in order to send out the message that violence and hostility is not acceptable (Clement et al, 2011). Indeed, hate crime frames those targeted as less than, and deserving of maltreatment (Sherry et al, 2020) simultaneously fostering a society where disabling attitudes, behaviours, and practices can flourish (Quarmby, 2013). The methods employed within this research serve a number of different purposes; working towards a greater understanding of the way that hate is experienced, perceived, and felt, whilst also developing an awareness of, and harnessing, examples of everyday resistance.

Research questions and design

This thesis aims to address the following research questions, which have been derived in an attempt to address the gaps in current literature, and attend to the everyday realities of many disabled people:

1. How do disabled people make sense of hate and hate crime within the context of their everyday lives?
2. To identify experiences of ‘everyday hate’ within the lives of disabled people.
3. In what ways can hate *impress* upon the lives of disabled people in relation to how they position themselves within the spaces around them?

4. How do disabled people manage these experiences, and how can we harness their everyday forms of resistance?
5. What role can research play in strengthening the space to enable disabled people to collectively challenge hate crime?

These questions are concerned with the ways in which hate is experienced, understood and made sense of, by disabled people. They reflect my interest in the subjective nature of hate crime as a socially constructed phenomenon that comes to *be* through the interactions and interpretations of those involved. By attending to knowledge as a constructed phenomenon, I have sought to explore the concept of hate crime as it is experienced by disabled people within the context of their everyday lives. Developing this further, I am interested in exploring how our knowledge of social reality is both affected by, and affects, our surrounding world. Indeed, these questions tap into the way in which disabled people actively negotiate and navigate experiences of hate. In particular, they attend to the diverse forms of everyday resistance that often accompany experiences of oppression. In order to address these questions, I have employed methods that allow for greater participant involvement in the research process, and position the voices and experiences of participants at the forefront of analysis (Schubotz, 2020).

This project employed a multi-stage design in order to allow for different opportunities of engagement and knowledge production. This involved arts-based workshops, semi-structured interviews, and reflective workshops. As I demonstrate in chapter four, arts-based methods were employed in order to explore, understand and represent human experiences in a sensitive and accessible way (Rice and Mundel, 2018; Savin-Baden & Wimpenny, 2014). By asking participants to create moodboards about their understandings and/or experiences of hate crime, arts-based workshops enabled the opportunity for participants to make sense of their own knowledge, and then present this in their chosen format. Following this, a smaller number of participants took part in semi-structured interviews. These interviews provided an opportunity to gain a deeper insight to some of the experiences that participants shared, and to attend to the different ways that participants had been affected by these experiences. Finally, the third stage of fieldwork involved a collective reflection on the research findings. Following my own initial coding of data, I completed concept maps with participants from each organization in order to

generate discussion around emerging research findings, directions for future research, as well as any inconsistencies that arose.

Once data had been processed, I employed several readings of data and organized data extracts thematically. From this, I identified a number of thematic categories, which were then used to re-read the data and refine into four overarching categories of analysis. A more descriptive overview of data processing is provided in chapter four.

Contributions to knowledge

Recent years have witnessed increasing awareness of disability hate crime, evidenced by the widening range of relevant research projects and the rising number of disability hate crimes recorded in England and Wales. This research project builds from, and contributes to, this widening knowledge base by seeking to acknowledge and challenge the presence of hate crime within the everyday lives of many disabled people. While continued engagement with ‘front-page’ hate crimes are crucial, a more explicit focus upon the somewhat implicit nature of everyday hate is equally important. By developing an awareness of the ordinariness of hate crime (Chakraborti & Garland, 2012; Iganski, 2008) it is possible to consider hatred as part of the cultural fabric towards particular groups, rather than as an exceptional and out-of-the-ordinary phenomenon. Through an engagement with the everyday context of hate, this research offers an insight to the way in which disabled people come to understand, make sense of, and navigate hate within their everyday social worlds. In addition, the research opens up a safe space for disabled people to share and reflect upon the way in which their experiences of hate shape their sense of self, both within their surrounding space and in their orientations of the future. Indeed, by considering the way in which hate comes to take shape upon particular bodies within certain time-spaces, the findings offer an important insight to the way in which disabled people are shaped by, and also shape, their everyday encounters.

A particularly important contribution of this research relates to the focus upon disabled people’s navigation of, and resistance to, hate within their everyday lives. Few other research projects have considered the way in which the affective capacity of disabled people can be enhanced through their reflections upon a disabling social world. Encounters of hate are shown in the findings to shape the affective capacity of

individuals in different ways. By drawing attention to these, chapter eight offers a more affirmative approach to harnessing the everyday forms of resistance already present within disabled people's lives. Developing from this further, the research findings have been published as an 'accessible toolkit' available to access online for disabled people, allies, and organizations. This online website provides an overview of research findings as well as educational resources to continue raising awareness of disability hate crime. Resources present the range of incidents that hate can encompass, where it is likely to take place, the harms of hate, and the way that disabled people are individually and collectively navigating this.

While the focus of this thesis is disability hate crime, it is important to recognise relevance beyond disability studies. Indeed, by working with disabled people, I have sought to ask broader questions about the meaning of hate within the context of everyday life. Within this thesis, I explore a plethora of different experiences of hate crime, including a diverse range of meanings and interpretations of these. Therefore, rather than offering findings that can be neatly generalised to all disabled people, or all those individuals targeted by hate crime, it encourages us to rethink current boundaries of hate crime. It demonstrates the need for a different way of thinking about the parameters of hate crime and, in particular, how we situate this phenomenon within the context of everyday life. In terms of thinking differently about hate crime, this project also supports the use of alternative methods for researching sensitive topics. The use of arts-based methods offer a sensitive and exploratory tool for opening up conversations and providing participants the opportunity to reflect upon, and make sense of, their experiences. Furthermore, using these methods within spaces that are already available to participants (such as organizations and peer-support groups) provides the opportunity to bring individuals together in sharing experiences and collectively challenging oppression towards them.

Outline of the thesis

In chapter two, 'hate crime and disability: the story so far,' I provide an overview of hate crime within the context of England and Wales. This begins with a description of the current policy landscape followed by a more critical reading of this policy in practice. Specifically, I discuss issues relating to the hierarchical nature of hate crime policy, which fails to provide equal access to justice across the five protected strands.

In addition, I consider the potential for widening these legislative boundaries to account for a more diverse range of hate incidents, directed towards a broader range of identity groups. In turn, I argue that compared to other identity groups, there remains to be a lack of awareness about the realities of disability hate crime (Shah, 2015). In particular, I outline how current statistics fail to reflect the everyday nature of disability hate, and share some of the barriers to accessing criminal justice services for many disabled people. The focus of this research on everyday hate is therefore pertinent in order to work towards a more inclusive approach to understanding, recognising and challenging hate crime towards disabled people. Moving forward, this chapter raises important conceptual questions about the relevance and use of the concept of ‘hate crime’ within the everyday lives of disabled people.

Chapter three ‘disentangling hate crime’ offers a more critical consideration of the conceptual debates surrounding hate crime in relation to the everyday nature of hate for many disabled people. In doing so, I argue that current conceptualisations fail to account for the complexity of these experiences, both in terms of how they are perceived by individuals within their everyday lives, and the range of ways that these incidents are enacted. Drawing upon Ahmed’s (2014) circulation of hate, I propose an understanding of hate crime that attends to the diverse ways that it shapes the affective capacity of those targeted, and how it can come to circulate within the ordinary spaces of everyday life. Moving beyond this, I explore the relationship between disability and space in order to consider how the navigation of particular spaces are based upon knowledge from previous encounters of hate. By turning to affect theory, I contend that our affective capacity can both impede or enhance what our bodies can do within the particularities of time and space and thus call for greater awareness of not just how hate harms, but how disabled people are actively negotiating and resisting this.

In chapter four, ‘Methods’ I outline the methodological decisions taken during this research project and reflect upon the ontological and epistemological assumptions that underpin these. I reflect upon my own positionality as a non-disabled researcher, and the desire to engage with disabled people in meaningful and inclusive ways. Thus, when describing the research design and strategy, I attend to the ways in which a range of methods have been employed in order to increase the opportunity for active

participation and offer different means of engagement. I outline the three stages of research design, including arts-based workshops, semi-structured interviews, and reflection-based workshops. I then explain my approach to processing and analysing data following Braun and Clarke's (2006) 'phrases of thematic analysis.'

In the latter half of this chapter, I demonstrate my engagement with ethical considerations, including specific methodological decisions taken in order to conduct a research project that respects the rights of participants to be involved, alongside any precautions to protect them from harm. Notably, I discuss informed consent, anonymity and confidentiality, research relations, and protection against harm. In addition, I reflect upon how I negotiated the sensitive nature of this research with participants and ensured their sensitive participation throughout.

Chapter five, 'understanding hate and hate crime' is the first chapter of analysis in this thesis. In many ways, this chapter provides the basis for further analysis by exploring upon the many ways that participants came to understand and articulate their experiences of hate. Indeed, in order to respond to the disconnect between academia, policy, and reality, this opening chapter of analysis re-conceptualises hate crime by engaging with the reflections shared by participants. In doing so, I explore the range of terminology used by participants in order to help them make sense of their experiences. Notably, I point to the ambiguity felt towards hate crime by many participants, and difficulty experienced in being able to assess personal experiences in relation to the 'fuzzy' boundaries of hate crime. Finally, I explore how intersectional understandings of hate can further complicate the way that experiences are interpreted and made sense of within the context of everyday life. At the same time, I argue that intersectionality can help to bring together understandings of hate crime based upon the perception of 'doing difference' (Perry, 2001; 2003) within particular time-spaces.

Chapter six 'geographies of hate' explores the spatial and temporal characteristics of hate experiences as they are reflected upon by participants. In doing so, I ask questions about the ways that hate can become an ordinary and anticipated experience within particular times and spaces. I discuss a range of locations where participants describe experiencing hate, including school, the home, institutional settings, public transport,

pubs and clubs, and other social settings. I consider how these spaces, in their very being, are *felt* as uncomfortable, or risky, by participants and uncover the ways in which participants feel the surface of their bodies as fitting *in* or *outside* of, symbolic and spatial boundaries. Such an approach explores how relations with other bodies, objects and our surroundings can be felt, both during encounters but also in the future. Indeed, this chapter prompts a closer engagement with the way in which hate can become stuck upon particular individuals as it moves between bodies within social space. For some individuals, then, experiences of hate come to be impressed upon the surface of their body and can endure for long after the incident has come to an end.

Developing an understanding of the way that hate affects others, chapter seven ‘Impressions of hate’ considers how the embodied histories of disabled people, as they are spatially and temporally situated, come to shape the affective capacity of bodies in the past, present and future. I consider the range of long-lasting impressions that shape the way in which participants choose to navigate their social world in accordance to securing a safe routine. For some, these impressions can create a ‘normalizing’ effect whereby hate comes to be accepted as a routine part of everyday life. At a more intimate level, I demonstrate how hate impresses upon the psycho-emotional well-being of participants who can come to see themselves (and their futures) through the ‘markers’ and ‘scars’ of hate. Such impressions represent an intrusion to the way that individuals see themselves as fitting in, or out of, their surrounding world. Finally, this chapter begins to unveil the often laborious, time-consuming, and expensive strategies that disabled people enact within their everyday lives in order to manage or avoid hateful encounters with others.

In the final chapter of analysis, ‘challenging hate,’ I shift my attention away from the way that hate can negatively impress upon the bodies of disabled people, to recognise the diverse ways that individuals are actively navigating and resisting hate. Indeed, while chapter seven considers how affective capacity can be limited, in this chapter I focus upon the moments of resistance and navigation. By calling attention to these moments of navigation, self-empowerment and ownership, it is recognised that ‘the bodily self’s interaction with his/her environment can either increase or decrease that body’s *conatus* or *potential*’ (Braidotti, 2006: 241). From this perspective, in the same way that everyday hate can become a part of day-to-day life, so too can subtle forms

of resistance and self-empowerment. In this chapter, I also consider the way that disabled people come together to collectively challenge hate crime, disrupt negative and disabling attitudes, and provide a safe and supportive space for one another. By drawing attention to the diverse ways that disabled people are already resisting hate, both as individuals and as a collective, I suggest a range of ways that greater collaboration with research can harness this further. Moreover, I introduce an online toolkit that has been produced in order to share research findings, offer support, and provide educational resources about hate crime, based upon the experiences and understandings shared with me by participants.

In the concluding chapter, I bring together research findings and position these within existing literature. In doing so, I draw conclusions about how this research contributes to what we know about disability hate crime, and everyday hate more broadly. In terms of methodological contributions, I argue that working with disabled people in participatory ways has been enhanced by the use of arts-based methods and reflective practices. These methods helped to create a safe space to manage the sensitivity of this research. Importantly, the participatory methods employed support the value of including disabled people in the research process, and positioning their experiences as insightful contributions to knowledge. In particular, I argue that collaborative research processes that work with disabled people and their organizations and support groups are vital to the production of a meaningful and relevant research process.

In this thesis, I explore the topic of disability hate crime by engaging experiences of hate within the everyday lives of disabled people. In doing so, I contend that greater engagement with disabled people is necessary in order to develop effective policy responses to disability hate crime that are reflective of the everyday incidents of hate that many experience.

Chapter 2

Hate crime and disability: the story so far

In this chapter, I discuss the context of disability hate crime in England and Wales, and pay particular attention to the policy landscape. More specifically, I employ a critical reading of this policy framework and highlight gaps and inconsistencies which are suggested to contribute to the under-reporting of disability hate crime, and hate crime more generally. Following this, I engage with wider contextual debates surrounding the violence, abuse, and oppression of disabled people. While the concept of disability hate crime is still relatively new and under-developed, a history of violence towards disabled people has been well established (See Giannasi, 2015a; Quarmby, 2011). Developing from this history into the present context, I consider the ‘everyday’ nature of hate towards many disabled people, and identify potential barriers that contribute to the continued lack of awareness about this type of crime. First, I present a brief overview of hate crime in England and Wales with reference to recent statistics.

The policy landscape in England and Wales

Recent figures present an increased number of recorded hate crimes in England and Wales when compared to previous years. In 2018/19, there were 103,379 police-recorded hate crimes in England and Wales compared to 94,121 in 2017/18 (Home Office, 2019). While the majority of these cases were recorded as race hate crimes (76% of offences), the data suggests an increase in the number of recorded hate crimes across all protected strands (Home Office, 2019). For example, of the total 103,379 hate crimes recorded by police in 2018/9, 8,256 of these were flagged as being motivated by, or demonstrating hostility on the grounds of disability compared to 7,221 in 2017/18. According to the Home Office’s (2019) most recent report on these figures, this represents a 14% increase in disability hate crimes recorded by the police compared to the previous year. An increase in the number of reported hate crimes may suggest vital improvements to reporting services (HM Government, 2018). However, vast differences remain between the number of reported hate crimes compared to those collected in the CSEW.^[1] Indeed, while figures for the years 2018/19 are not

yet available, it is noteworthy that the combined 2015/16 to 2017/18 dataset estimates around 52,000 disability hate crimes each year compared to the 7,226 that were recorded in the same years (Home Office, 2018: 27). This pattern is evident across all of the protected identity strands. For example, the CSEW estimated around 184,000 incidents of hate crimes experienced in the year 2017/18 compared to 94,121 police-recorded hate crimes for the same year. These figures suggest the need for reconsidering the scope of hate crime legislation, and a reflection upon the level of protection that this affords to targeted communities.

Despite its infancy, it has been suggested that England and Wales have one of the most advanced policy frameworks in the world for tackling hate crime (Home Office 2016; Tyson et al, 2015). Hate crime policies have typically been developed in response to racism and later expanded to include the intolerance of other marginalized groups (Schweppe et al, 2018). The racially-motivated murder of Stephen Lawrence in 1993 is considered to have been a catalyst for bringing the issue of hate crime to the forefront of policy discussion by asking questions about how it is recognised, prosecuted and prevented (Hall, 2015b). The failings of the criminal justice system to provide justice to the Lawrence family attracted attention from activists, academics, and policymakers across the UK (Hall, 2015b; Tyson et al. 2015). Indeed, an inquiry produced by Sir William Macpherson outlined fundamental errors made following Stephen's murder, and highlighted the issue of institutional racism within the police (Macpherson 1999). In addition, the report paved the way for a number of principles that would underpin a more progressive policy response to hate crime, such as the need to respond to both incidents and crimes, the value of perception-based recording, and a more critical consideration of under-reporting (Giannasi, 2015d). Indeed, while this case was focused upon racial hatred, it brought attention to hate crime as a much broader issue, and allowed the experiences of other marginalized groups to be brought into view (Healy, 2020).

In the following section, I move through these legislative developments to present the changing policy landscape in response to an expanding awareness of what hate crime is, and who it is likely to target. Although the methods employed in this research do not engage directly with hate crime legislation, an awareness of policy developments and inconsistencies are inextricably intertwined with many of the issues discussed

throughout the thesis. For a more thorough critical review of policy in England and Wales, see Walters et al (2018).

Overview of Current Legislation and the late addition of disability

Although hate crime is a commonly used term, it has no legal status within the UK (Iganski, 2008) nor is there any single policy designed to prosecute against this. Instead, hate crime is covered in the law under the offences of ‘stirring up hatred’ and those motivated, or ‘aggravated’ by identity-specific hostility. The earliest policy introduced in England and Wales to address the ‘incitement to commit racial hatred’ was held under the Race Relation Act (RRA) 1965. Under section 6 of the RRA, the incitement of racial hatred could be added to general offences, on the basis that they demonstrate a breach of peace (Lasson, 1987). While the RRA 1965 protected against verbal racial incitement, the Public Order Act 1986 (POA) furthered this, providing the grounds for the prosecution of ‘stirring up hatred’ through words, gestures and behaviours (Lasson, 1987). Under these provisions, it is an offence to ‘stir up’ hatred on the grounds of race through the distribution, broadcasting, performance, public display and/or possession of inflammatory material (Giannasi 2015b). Under section 18 of this act;

- (1) A person who uses threatening, abusive or insulting words or behaviour, or displays any written material which is threatening, abusive or insulting, is guilty of an offence if –
 - a. He intends thereby to stir up racial hatred, or
 - b. Having regard to all the circumstances racial hatred is likely to be stirred up thereby.

Following Royal Assent of the Racial and Religious Hatred Act 2006 (RRHA) and the Criminal Justice and Immigration Act 2008 (CJIA), new duties were imposed to prosecute stirring up hatred on the grounds of religion and sexual orientation. These extensions are held under section 29B of the POA which states that:

- (1) A person who uses threatening words or behaviour, or displays any written material which is threatening, is guilty of an offence if he intends thereby to stir up religious hatred [or hatred on the grounds of sexual orientation].

There are important differences between section 18 and 29B of the POA, which alter the types of evidence required for the chance of prosecution. Under section 18, for example, evidence of ‘stirring up hatred’ can be found in either the intent of the perpetrator to do so, or if this is the likely impact of the words and behaviour expressed. On the contrary, section 29B requires evidence of the intent to ‘stir up’ hatred on the grounds of religion and sexual orientation, which is arguably more difficult to prove.

Similar discrepancies apply under Sections 28-32 of the Crime and Disorder Act (CDA) 1998 which places a duty upon the courts to recognise where certain offences, such as assault, criminal damage, harassment and threatening and abusive behaviour, are aggravated by racial or religious hatred. Neither sexual orientation, gender identity, or disability are included within this piece of policy. The nine offences included within this policy were identified as the most likely to be underpinned by racial hostility, thereby being perceived as more serious versions of pre-existing offences (Walters et al 2018). An offence of the above categories is deemed to be racially or religiously aggravated if:

- (a) at the time of committing the offence, or immediately before or after doing so, the offender demonstrates towards the victim of the offence hostility based on the victim’s membership (or presumed membership) of a [racial or religious group]; or
- (b) the offence is motivated (wholly or partly) by hostility towards members of a [racial or religious group] based on their membership of that group.

The provision of a sentence uplift where racial or religious aggravation can be evidenced as an important policy development that recognises the many harms of hate crime. Moreover, this policy offers the ability to increase the sentence of an offence in the case that racial or religious aggravation is evidenced. For example, while the maximum penalty for Criminal Damage is 10 years, this is extended to a maximum of 14 years if racial and/or religious aggravation is evident (Law Commission, 2014). Successful prosecutions also ensure that the element of hate is captured on the criminal record of those prosecuted (Law Commission 2018).

The final piece of policy, The Criminal Justice Act 2003 (CJA), is described to be the hallmark of legislative provision against hate crime in England and Wales (Giannasi, 2015a). Implemented in 2005, CJA broadened policy provisions to include crimes that are motivated by, or demonstrates hostility towards, race, religion, sexual orientation, transgender identity and disability. The CJA was then amended in 2012 to include transgender identity. Sections 145 and 146 of the CJA impose a duty upon the courts to consider whether an offender demonstrated hostility or was motivated by hostility towards the victim based upon race, religion, sexual orientation, disability and/or transgender identity. While the CJA does not create any new offences, it imposes a duty upon courts to increase the sentence for a criminal offence that is motivated by hostility towards the protected characteristics. As stated in legislation, there are grounds for enhanced sentencing if;

at the time of committing the offence, or immediately before or after doing so, the offender demonstrates hostility towards the victim of the offence...’ or ‘the offence is motivated wholly or partly by hostility.

In their 2016 report, published by the EHRC, Walters et al (2016: 15) visually outline the legal processes involved with prosecuting hate crimes in England and Wales. In their report, they demonstrate how the different strands of identity are handled within the legal system. In particular, it is suggested that there is a hierarchy in place which provides different levels of protection across the five protected strands. In the following section, I consider these inequalities more closely.

A critical reading of hate crime legislation

Hate crime legislation is a crucial mechanism through which hate crimes can be effectively challenged and prosecuted against (Walters et al 2018). Indeed, the establishment of an effective legislative response to hate crime not only supports the symbolic message that there is no place for criminalised expressions of hate, but that prejudice-incited hate in and of itself, is wrong (Mason, 2013). While it has been suggested that England and Wales have a relatively well-developed policy system in place to tackle hate crime, a number of issues remain. The ongoing revision of policy is therefore necessary to reflect a forever changing and dynamic social, political and economic context within England and Wales. In this section, I discuss some of the issues already raised concerning hate crime policy in order to identify the barriers that

they impose. In particular, I highlight where these policy discrepancies are thought to exclude disabled people from adequate protective measures.

A significant issue with hate crime policy in England and Wales relates to a suggested ‘two-tiered system of citizenship’ (Tatchell, 2002). As described above, the three pieces of policy offer different measures of prosecution, different lengths of sentences, and ultimately, different levels of protections. For critics, such an approach demonstrates a discriminatory approach to hate crime that is hierarchical in its presence and practice (Owsusu-Bempah 2015; Walters et al. 2017). For example, the offences outlined in the CDA are applicable to nine specifically stated offences that relate to racial and religious hatred, without being extended to other protected characteristics. And, although provisions under the CJA can be applied to *any* criminal offence where aggravated hatred towards race, religion, sexual orientation, disability and/or transgender identity is demonstrated, it is only the basic offence that is recorded on the prosecuted sentence (Law Commission, 2018a). Therefore, whilst the implementation of CJA does demonstrate a landmark moment for hate crime policy in England and Wales, the inconsistencies between the way in which different groups are treated requires further discussion.

In light of such criticisms, a review by the Law Commission published in 2014 considered the case for extending current provisions so that each of the protected strands were given equal recognition in law. Specifically, they addressed the following:

- (a) Extending the aggravated offences in the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 to include where hostility is demonstrated towards people on the grounds of disability, sexual orientation or gender identity;

(Law Commission 2014)

In the case of aggravated offences, the final report published by the Law Commission in 2014 suggested progress. It outlined the need for an in-depth review of the aggravated offences in order to assess whether its boundaries should be retained, amended, extended, or repealed in relation to the five protected characteristics (Law Commission 2014: 13). Given the possibility that an in-depth review was not possible, the report supported the extension of the aggravated offences held under the CDA, to

disability, sexual orientation and transgender identity. Doing so, the report argues, would ensure ‘equality of treatment across the five statutorily recognised hate crime characteristics’ (Law Commission 2014: 13). Indeed, the widening of aggravated offences to include all of the protected characteristics would be an important move towards a more equal policy landscape due to the possibility of increased sentencing beyond the basic offence (Law Commission, 2018b). A recent project conducted at the University of Sussex goes beyond this recommendation, arguing that an expansion of the offences included under the Crime and Disorder Act is necessary, to include the types of offences relevant to all five protected strands of hate crime. This includes; verbal abuse, affray, violent disorder, all sexual offences, theft, robbery, burglary, fraud, grievous bodily harm, and homicide offence if the motivation of hostility can be established (Walters et al. 2018). Moving beyond those offences typically considered relevant to racial hatred would ensure the relevance of policy to all five protected characteristics, whilst also preserving those developed in response to racial hatred.

These issues of discrepancy are also evident under the POA. While the inclusion of religion and sexual orientation under the POA demonstrates the progression of hate crime policy, clear discrepancies continue based upon the different identity strands. Under section 18 of the POA, for example, successful prosecution requires evidence that racial hatred *could* be incited. On the contrary, provisions under section 29B require that the intention to stir up hatred *is* proven. In addition, broader criteria under section 18 includes threatening, abusive or insulting words or behaviour; section 29B only includes that which is deemed to be threatening. The range of conduct that can be amounted to stirring up hatred on the basis of race, religion, and sexual orientation is therefore different depending upon the targeted identity. As already noted, the policy continues to exclude disability and transgender identity as a protected characteristics, along with other suggested characteristics such as age and gender. In light of such criticisms, a review by the Law Commission published in 2014 considered the case for extending current provisions so that each of the protected strands were given equal recognition in law. Specifically, they addressed the following:

(b) The case for extending the stirring up of hatred offences under the Public Order Act 1986 to include stirring up of hatred on the grounds of disability or gender identity.

While the report acknowledged the sense of parity in law that the extension of the POA would present, they dismissed the need for expansion. Justified on the basis that any extension risks the ‘perception of creeping censorship and thought control’ (Law Commission 2014: 189), the report concluded that the inclusion of disability and gender identity could be counter-productive. Furthermore, the report highlighted a lack of evidence that the offences held under ‘stirring up hatred’ would be relevant to disability and gender identity. To this point, the report contends that ‘criminalisation might appear a heavy-handed approach in the absence of evidence’ (Law Commission 2014: 192). In this case, it appears that the right to free speech is upheld over the right for equal protection from discrimination (Slagle 2009). Importantly, it continues to suggest a lack of engagement and awareness of the day-to-day lives of disabled people. Indeed, although ‘disability hate speech’ had not been widely documented at the point of this earlier investigation, evidence detailing the prevalence of name-calling and bullying was well established (See EHRC, 2011; Mencap, 2000, 2011; Quarmby, 2008). It should also be noted that in the present context, disability hate speech has gathered a much more extensive literary following, including a recently published edited collection by Mark Sherry and colleagues (Sherry et al, 2020).

More recently, the Law Commission (2018b: 2) have been conducting ‘a comprehensive review of how hate crime laws work, who they protect, and how they could be reformed to work more effectively.’ Picking up from the 2014 findings, which demonstrated the need for a wide-ranging review, this report (due to gain public consultation in Spring 2020, and final report published early 2021) seeks to re-examine any gaps and inconsistencies and provide recommendations to address these. The introduction to the report asks:

Should hate crime include offences demonstrating hostility based on characteristics such as sex and gender, being an older person or other characteristics? How should we determine if a particular characteristic should be protected? Similarly, what is the threshold incidence of hostile, targeted criminal behaviour required before a characteristic should be protected by hate

crime laws? Are there characteristics that have not yet been widely considered, which really should be protected by the law?

These four questions present a review that goes beyond disability and transgender identity to encompass a range of others, including ‘alternative subcultures,’ age, gender, and many more. Although not entirely new, these questions emerge at the backdrop of active debates among academics, practitioners, activists and allies who have similarly questioned the value of only five protected strands. For example, the Leicester Hate Crime Project (Chakraborti et al, 2014) identified sixteen¹ identity characteristics or ‘markers of difference,’ that were reported by ‘victims’ of hate crime. Including the five included in policy, this report also evidenced experiences of hate crime on the basis of age, alternative subculture, Asylum Seeker, dress and appearance, gender, Gypsy traveller, homelessness, lifestyle, mental health, and social status.

More specifically, the Sophie Lancaster Foundation has raised awareness of hate crimes committed against members of ‘alternative subcultures’ and, in particular, has revealed the ‘everyday’ nature of hate experienced by many young people associated with these groups (Garland 2010; Garland and Chakraborti, 2012; Garland and Hodkinson, 2014). Coined by Minton (2012: 87) ‘alterophobia’ refers to

prejudice directed towards members of alternative subcultures, including those who are, or are perceived as being, goths, punks, emo’s, skaters and fans of heavy metal, and those who listen to any type of alternative music

Through their work with the Sophie Lancaster Foundation, Greater Manchester became the first police-force to record attacks against members of alternative subcultures as hate crimes in 2013 (Chakraborti 2015a; Salford City Council, 2018). Following a string of high-profile murders of street sex workers in the Merseyside area, research conducted by Campbell (2015) has also shed light on the victimization, stigmatization and ‘othering’ of street sex workers. These findings revealed a plethora of verbal and physical violence endured by respondents, including harassment and the presence of explicitly hateful language such as ‘you dirty smelly, dirty bastard, prostitute junkie’ (Campbell 2015: 63).

¹ The number listed here does not include those hate crimes categorised as ‘Other’, ‘don’t know’ and ‘not stated’

Questions have also been posed about the relevance of hate crime policy to homeless people. Perhaps most notably advocated by the National Coalition for the Homeless (NCH) located in the United States, there are increasing demands for additional protections to be implemented for homeless people (NCH, 2012). These individuals are suggested to be at risk of repeat targeting due to their location on the street or their repeat access to help services (The Innovation and Good Practice Team 2016). Debating this issue, Al-Hakim (2015) has called for a focus upon the conception of 'disadvantage' as a possible feature that could bridge the gap between those traditionally included under hate crime legislation, and the introduction of other groups. Finally, Hannah Mason-Bish (2015) has provided a critical overview of how different identity groups come to be included in hate crime policy. Throughout this, she discusses the potential influence of age and gender in not only shaping the experiences of those targeted, but also their relevance when discussing motivational factors. Without arguing for the simple extension of policy to include gender and age, Mason-Bish (2013; 2015) calls for greater consideration of hate crime as an intersectional experience that is much more complex than the single-identity approach might suggest. The relevance of intersectionality is supported in this thesis in chapter five.

While age and gender are not legally protected characteristics under hate crime policy, the Sentencing Council held under the Coroners and Justice Act (CJA, 2009) provides the opportunity for increased sentencing upon the evidence of 'aggravating factors.' For example, where perpetrators are shown to target someone due to age, sex, gender identity, and/or vulnerability, the judge can perceive the offence as having higher culpability (Sentencing Council, 2011). While the inclusion here does not suggest parity with other protected characteristics, it does provide an opportunity for age and gender to be considered as aggravating factors to a basic offence given the presence of vulnerability. Despite research also suggesting the prevalence of hate crime for those who identify with alternative subcultures, and homeless people, the current guidelines do not include these as other aggravating factors (Walters et al, 2016). The ambiguity surrounding protected characteristics is replicated in practice. Although there are five protected identity strands included in the policies outlined above, police services across England and Wales have different structures and processes in place to tackle hate crime (Sin et al, 2012; Walters et al, 2016). As I discuss in the following

section, a lack of consistency in the way that disability is understood, reported and responded to, has implications in practice.

In this section, I have outlined key policies in England and Wales that prosecute against hate crime. While there are policies in place that do offer provisions to challenge hate crime across the five protected strands (race, religion, sexual orientation, disability & transgender identity), these provisions remain hierarchical in nature. In the next section I discuss some of the reasons that disability continues to be left behind wider hate crime debates.

Disability hate crime: key issues

The concept of disability hate crime is relatively new, only entering policy discourse in England and Wales in 2003. Despite this, there is evidence of violence and mistreatment towards some disabled people throughout history. In a seminal publication, Katherine Quarmby (2011) traces the historically long-standing assumptions about disability that contribute to ongoing violence towards some disabled people. She reflects upon this work:

I found that the motivation of offenders was shaped by our common history and by the fears and prejudices that have fuelled violence against disabled people for over 2,000 years. Commonly held beliefs from the past - that disabled people are a freakish spectacle, fair game for amusement and mockery, that they deserve to be treated as slaves, that they are blameworthy scapegoats for society's ills, even that they should not exist at all and should be destroyed - live on and even thrive amongst some people today.

In her book, Quarmby argues that some disabled people have been othered in a range of different ways; each turn of the century reinventing the point of otherness. The history of disability is uncomfortable to reflect upon; it holds 'a range of difficult stories associated with objects, freakshows being just one of a list, which also included histories of asylums, war injury and mutilation, holocaust experimentation, and brutal or unsuccessful medical treatment' (Sandell et al, 2005). Indeed, in her work, Quarmby (2011) considers disability within the context of the Ancient Greeks, religion, the industrial revolution, the rise of mental institutions, and eugenics. In each

of these unique contexts, Quarmby demonstrates how practices of marginalization, medicalization, and indeed, elimination have been established in response to disability. For example, drawing upon the philosophical works of Plato and Aristotle, Quarmby comments upon the widespread use of the disposal of ‘defective offspring.’ Quoting from Aristotle’s *Politics*, ‘let it be law that no crippled child be reared,’ Quarmby argues that the pursuit to eliminate ‘defective offspring’ during this period was widely supported. Although the extent of historical marginalization is debated (Cameron, 2014; Slorach, 2016), forms of exclusion post-industrial revolution is evident in the emergence of ‘freak shows,’ and mental asylums.

Sandell et al (2005) write about the emergence of the modern museum as we now know it, during the early 18th and mid 19th century. Showcasing bodily extremities to paying audiences, the freakshow harnessed a developing sense of public curiosity in the parameters of the human body. Individuals such as Joseph Merrick, most commonly known as the ‘Elephant Man,’ were ‘exhibited as monstrosit[ies] and object[s] of loathing’ (Quarmby, 2011: 51) seen to be representative of the very extremities of the human body. In turn, this increasing fascination with the body of the other is suggested to have been an important mechanism in the formulation of the self. As Garland-Thomson (1997: 59) describes, ‘freak shows were to the masses what science was to the emerging elite: an opportunity to formulate the self in terms of what it was not.’ The visibility of disability that developed from the freakshows is in stark contrast to the hiding away of disabled people and other marginalized individuals within workhouses and asylums (Rose, 1991). Indeed, as the appetite for freakshows in Britain dwindled at the turn of the century, more disabled people became subject to the overcrowded, degrading conditions of the asylum. For the scientist, these bodies represented ‘oddities’ and ‘curiosities’ to be investigated (Zittlau, 2017). Within these institutions, inhumane medical experiments could be conducted on disabled people, predicated upon a belief in performing miracles in the name of experimental medical intervention (Borsay, 2005).

Following the close of the eighteenth century, the privilege of pathology anatomy came into being, constituting what Foucault has termed the ‘suzerainty of the gaze’ (Foucault 1989). During this period, the glance of the professional came to ‘exercise its right of origin over truth’ (Foucault 1989: 2) and became the dominant knowledge

source of bodily function, inside and out. Simultaneously, the knowledge branch of statistics became a means of defining and measuring the human mind and body. Indeed, the development of Quetelet's *l'homme moyen*, as well as Galton's "normal distribution" curve offered scientific justification to a worldwide eugenics movement predicated upon the elimination of "defectives" as a means of genetically advancing the human race (Davis 2013; Hubbard 2013). Indeed, the development of mathematical tools to plot the human population marks a shift in the way in which technologies of power rest upon the body of individual as well as populations (Campbell, 2013). Biopolitics, according to Hacking (2016 :67) created 'new categories into which people had to fall' which constituted 'rigid new conceptualizations of the human being.' In a bid to manage the health and behaviour of the population, those bodies located outside of these human categories could be measured as such, and treated accordingly. And while many of these practices involved dangerous and painful surgeries, they were justified under the guise of scientific discovery.

Scientific justification for the enactment of violence towards disabled people was strengthened by the increasing hegemony of eugenic ideology throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries. Coined by Francis Galton in 1833, eugenics was concerned with the improvement of 'stock' through the means of forced sterilization and eradication (Hubbard, 2013). Disability, in this context, was presented as 'deformed, maimed, mutilated, broken, [and] diseased' (Davis 1995, 5), consequently rendering the lives of disabled people as 'absolutely pointless' (Burleigh 1994: 17). During this period, hundreds of thousands of disabled people were killed in Nazi Germany under the veil of eugenic justification. What we now know to be the T4 Euthanasia Programme, the eradication of 'degenerates' resulted in the systematic murder of over 200,000 disabled children and adults in Nazi Germany (Quarmby, 2011). In the UK, while no such programme existed, the sterilization and incarceration of disabled children and adults was widely enforced in order to prevent the 'multiplication of the unfit' (Winston Churchill, cited in Quarmby, 2011: 57). This peripheral positioning is dangerous, and much contemporary disability hate speech has been shown to recirculate these eugenic messages (Burch, 2018; Sherry et al, 2020). The reproduction of these narratives allows extremely harmful attitudes to be accepted when articulated within the context of economic cost or moral philosophy.

In this opening section, I have presented a brief history of marginalization towards some disabled people, which has often been accompanied by regimes of physical and symbolic violence. This violence is suggested to have been a part of many cultural practices throughout history, justified by ‘priests, greedy or desperate parents, agents, philosophers, scientists, showmen, and doctors’ (Garland-Thompson, 1997: 57). While the practices associated with freak shows, asylums, and eugenics are no longer present within society, it could be suggested that they have been reinvented and revised in accordance to culturally significant tropes of the modern day. For example, as I briefly outline in chapter three, and revisit throughout the analysis, the current context of ‘austerity’ has endorsed the values of neoliberal-ableism, within which, the non-disabled, independent, productive, and active body is valued (See Goodley, Lawthom & Runswick-Cole, 2014). Therefore, disability hate crime should not be perceived as a new expression of intolerance to diversity, but part of a much wider history of oppression. Following a long history of prejudice rooted within the make-up of our society, disabled people ‘are harassed, attacked, humiliated and even killed because their lives are considered less valuable than other people’s lives’ (Quarmby, 2008, p. 8). In the following section, I turn my attention to the modern day context that disability hate crime is situated within, and comment upon some emerging patterns and understandings.

Just another day

In the EHRC report, *Hidden in Plain Sight*, ten cases of extreme violence towards disabled people are outlined. Among others, Fiona Pilkington and her children, Francecca and Anthony, are said to have experienced seven years of harassment at their home and in their local school and community. Following years of abuse by a local ‘gang of youths’ and over thirty-three dismissed pleas to the police, Fiona made the decision to end the lives of her and her daughter (Quarmby, 2011). Keith Philpott was murdered following false accusations of a sexual relationship with a 13 year old girl. Following threats from the girls’ family, Keith was torturously murdered in his home. Steve Hoskin was murdered by a group of adults who had taken over his home, and subjected him to physical abuse and humiliation over a long period of time. On the day of his murder, ‘he had been forced to make a false confession that he was a paedophile and coerced into taking a lethal dose of paracetamol tablets. Finally he

was taken to the viaduct and forced over the railings before one of the perpetrators stamped on his fingers until he let go.’ (EHRC, 2011: 39). Kevin Davies was killed in 2006 by his ‘friends’ who had held him captive in their garden shed, tortured him, stole his money, and fed him so little he became malnourished (Quarmby, 2008).

These are just four of the 10 cases included in the EHRC report and only a snapshot of the violence regularly experienced by many disabled people that are not included in this report. They present extreme cases of violence and demonstrate a failure of protective services. Yet, such coverage excludes the mundane hostility experienced by disabled people, and instead positions disablist hate crime as an ‘extraordinary occurrence’ (Hollomotz, 2012: 487). Indeed, although experiences of hate crime are too complex and nuanced to reduce to any singular understanding, the prolonged and escalating nature of disability hate crime is suggested to be rare among other protected identity strands (Giannasi, 2015a; Sherry, 2010). Thus, behind what we think we know about hate crime from large scale statistical evidence, or media headlines, are a vast number of hate crimes that occur in the everyday lives of many disabled people (Iganski, 2002). Hate crimes are not rare acts committed by extreme bigots, but, rather uncomfortably, are committed by ‘ordinary people’ in our ordinary, everyday lives (Chakraborti & Garland, 2012; Iganski, 2008). Reflecting upon the findings of the EHRC 2011 report, lead commissioner of the inquiry Mike Smith (EHRC, 2015: 5) explained:

For me, two things come out of this inquiry that are far more shocking than the 10 cases that we cover in more detail, awful as they are. The first is just how much harassment seems to be going on. It’s not just some extreme things happening to a handful of people: it’s an awful lot of unpleasant things happening to a great many people, almost certainly in the hundreds of thousands each year.

Indeed, while the cases described above present irrefutably horrific cases of disability hate crime (although many were not prosecuted as this), there remains to be a vast number of disabled people that experience mundane acts of hate within their day-to-day lives. The nature of these incidents vary, ranging from ‘banter’ to having photographs taken of them whilst using public transport (Wilkin, 2020), being spat at

by strangers (Healy, 2020), name-calling and verbal harassment (Mind, 2007), and bullying (Mencap, 2000).

In a follow-up report (EHRC, 2017), David Isaac, now chair of the EHRC, commented upon the common nature of harassment experienced by many disabled people, with the recognition that ‘some’ of these forms of harassment might be considered to be hate crimes. Further to this, there is the risk that ‘low-level’ incidents can escalate to more serious crimes if left unaccounted for (Quarmby, 2008). And while the everyday experiences of staring, name-calling, and bullying outlined above might first appear mundane, the accumulation of their affects can be detrimental. Indeed, they:

generate affective responses; responses that live on in our flesh, layered as new events unfold that remind the body how it feels to feel. These mundane events register in the shift of affects, and they repeat and spiral with intensity. Affects don’t just go away, especially if being marginalized is a significant part of your organizational experience. Ongoing experiences of being othered meet the affection caused by everyday encounters, and they build momentum (Pullen et al, 2017: 106).

Not only can mundane incidents escalate to other types of violence, but their accumulation can intensify the affects that they have. Any approach that perceives these incidents in isolation is therefore limited in its ability to account for the often persistent nature of disability hate crime. The impacts of doing so are made clear in the tragic case of Fiona Pilkington and her daughter, Francecca Hardwick briefly described earlier in this chapter. These events are not alone. Indeed, in chapter seven I share the experiences of Doria Skadinski, who admitted having suicidal thoughts due to years of ongoing abuse targeting her and her son at their home. Again, the recognition of these incidents as anti-social behaviour minimised the presence of ‘hate’ and isolated events as single incidents.

Due to the ongoing nature of everyday hate for many disabled people, there can be a normalizing effect. The EHRC (2011) describe this accumulation as having a ‘drip, drip, nag, nag’ effect whereby the severity of incidents are often overlooked due to their normality. The ‘everyday’ nature of disability hate crime is detrimental to the

way in which these incidents are made sense of, both for the individuals involved and within the criminal justice system. Sin et al (2009), for example, argues that the regular occurrence of hate crime within everyday life means it is often dismissed as a common experience rather than something significant that is worthy of reporting to the police. For example, Collette, a participant from my previous research (Burch, 2020a: 74) described these incidents as ‘just another straw on the back.’ Findings from Mencap’s ‘Stand by Me’ campaign suggest that these incidents become part of ‘normal life’ that disabled people are expected to try to avoid (Mencap 2011). Similarly, due to so many incidents happening on a regular basis, disabled people often report finding it difficult to differentiate between mundane acts of discrimination, compared to those that would be categorised as a hate crime (Smith, 2015). At times, this distinction becomes so blurred that even explicitly hateful encounters are suggested to be underestimated (Brookes and Cain, 2015). This anticipation of experiencing hate can become a reality for many disabled people, demonstrating the urgent need to examine these experiences of everyday hate more closely.

Where incidents are recognised as being hateful, there remains a reluctance to accessing reporting services. As Raymond, a participant in a previous research study explained, ‘if I reported everything that happened to me over the years, then I’d be doing not much else’ (Burch, 2020a: 74). Many of these findings are echoed by the stories shared by participants in this research, which will be explored in chapters five to eight of this thesis. These findings suggest that a range of hateful encounters are experienced by many disabled people on a regular basis, many of which are not reported. Due to this ‘everyday nature,’ current understandings of hate crime are limited in the extent to which they can account for the diversity of experiences, particularly as they exist within the structures and routines of everyday life. Indeed, while the underreporting of crime is a widespread issue, research suggests that the everyday nature of disability hate crime can mean that experiences are neutralised and downplayed by those targeted (Healy, 2020). In the following section, I outline some of the barriers reported by disabled people when choosing whether to report their experiences of hate crime.

Barriers to reporting experience and terminological disparities

In the previous section, I discussed the ‘everyday’ nature of hate crime reported by many disabled people, with many of these not being recognised as hate crimes, but ‘normal’ encounters within their everyday lives. In this section I continue to explore disability hate crime as an under-recognised crime, with a particular focus upon barriers to reporting. The under-reporting of hate crime is a widespread problem that transcends identity categories. For example, Paterson et al (2018) present an overwhelming negative perception of the police from both LGB&T and/or Muslim participants in their research. Similarly, Chakraborti and Hardy (2015) report on the reluctance to report LGBT hate crimes due to the perception that it was a waste of time given the unlikely possibility of successful prosecution. Ongoing tension between the police and marginalized ethnic communities also present barriers in the form of mistrust and assumed incapacity (Fox-Williams, 2019). For example, Atak (2020) proposes that mundane racism is likely to be relatively ignored both by police and individuals targeted. Further to this, evidence suggests that beyond reporting, barriers within the criminal justice system can prevent the prosecution of many reported incidents. Recent figures collated by Walters et al (2018) present a 96% ‘justice gap’ for hate crimes in England and Wales, which represents the percentage of cases that ‘drop out’ of the criminal justice system. Indeed, it is estimated that approximately 4,342 offences reported to the police are prosecuted with a sentence uplift based upon identity-based hostility, compared to the 110,160 incidents that are reported to the police (Walters et al, 2018).

While part of the work of the police is to be active agents in the pursuit of social justice, historically fractured communications between the police force and marginalized communities remain (Mason et al, 2017). The overall under-reporting of hate crime has been recognised on a number of levels, including by the Government and the College for Policing (CfP), who are the professional body for policing in England and Wales. In 2014, the CfP published their ‘Operational Guidance’ to enforce a more consistent approach to understanding and tackling hate crimes across police forces in England and Wales. Movement towards a greater consistency is important, given the lack of coherence amongst police services when recognising and recording hate crime (Sin et al, 2012). Notably, this publication offered guidance to increasing the consistency of reporting and recording of hate crimes, in order to ‘identify serial offenders, bring more offenders to justice and improve community

confidence in the police' (CfP, 2014: 48). The disparity between the number of hate crimes experienced, and those reported and recorded by the police was similarly evidenced in the Government's 2016 report, *Action Against Hate*. In this report, they acknowledged some of the key issues preventing many individuals from reporting their experiences, including a lack of trust in the police, and the normalisation of hate in everyday life. In addition, they proposed the need to increase the support available to third-party reporting centres and provide additional reporting services online (HM Government, 2018). Despite an increase in the number of police-recorded hate crimes overall, the issue of under-reporting and under-recording remains, particularly in relation to disability hate crime (Giannasi, 2015c).

The underreporting of disability hate crime in particular is widely recognised among police officers (Sin 2015) and researchers (Healy, 2020; Smith, 2015). This issue is widespread, with current statistics suggesting that many hate crimes experienced by disabled people are not reported to, or recorded as such, by the police. As already noted, recent figures report a total of 8,265 disability hate crimes recorded by the police in 2018/19 compared to 7,221 in 2017/18 (Home Office, 2019). While this figure does demonstrate an increased number of reports, it remains to be significantly lower than the 52,000 estimated by the CSEW for 2017/18 (Home Office, 2018). There are many explanations for this vast level of under-reporting. One key issue relates to the 'everyday' nature of disability hate crime discussed in the previous section. As already discussed, the regularity of hate for some people can have a normalizing effect which not only prevents disabled people from reporting their experiences, but also how these incidents are perceived within the criminal justice system. Notably, the distinction within policy between 'crime' and 'incident' means that only those acts that are considered to be criminal are sufficient for enhanced sentencing. Thus, while hate 'incidents' such as verbal abuse can cause a lot of personal upset, they do not constitute a criminal offence and are therefore excluded from policy protection (Macdonald 2015). In addition, the Criminal Justice Joint Inspection (CJJI) (2013) report suggested that there was general confusion felt by police services about what does, and does not, constitute a disability hate crime (Criminal Justice Joint Inspection, 2013 [CJJI]). Such confusion is thought to contribute to the negative experiences of disabled people when bringing incidents of hate crime to police attention.

Many disabled people have reported negative experiences when reporting hate crimes to the police, including not being believed or taken seriously (Sheikh et al, 2010) and a lack of ongoing communication (Novis, 2013). Indeed, recent work by Healy (2020) notes the cavalier attitude of the police towards disabled people when attempting to report their experiences, which in many cases, prevents them from seeking support in the future. These findings are particularly concerning given that the 2014 Operational Guidance published by the CfP aspired to ‘building the confidence of disabled people in policing services and providing accessible methods of communication’ (p. 18). Furthermore, the Association for Real Change (2012[ARC]) reports that many people with learning difficulties are likely to have an underlying ‘fear of the uniform’ which can prevent them from accessing useful police support. Others have revealed issues of inadequate support, including poor accessibility, a lack of language interpreters (Sin, 2013) and attitudinal barriers resulting from a lack of disability awareness amongst officers. Due to limited awareness about disability, some disabled people have reported responses from the police that are focused upon their impairment or what *they* did to cause the incident (EHRC, 2011). Commenting in particular upon cases involving the exploitation and manipulation of people with learning difficulties, Doherty (2019) suggests that police reports often identify disabled people as ‘willing victims’ due to their perceived friendship with the perpetrator.

The element of ‘friendship’ has presented a challenge for professionals and policy-makers alike (Giannasi, 2015a) and has established a literary following of its own under the conceptual heading of mate crime. Mate crime refers to cases where people pretend to be friends with people who have a learning disability, but go on to exploit them (ARC, 2012). Contrary to the traditional, although more recently contested notion of ‘stranger danger,’ (Chakraborti & Garland, 2009; Garland and Hodkinson, 2014; Mason, 2005) mate crimes are suggested to be committed by ‘insiders’ who are known to the individual targeted through the development of a fake friendship (Doherty, 2017, 2019; Thomas, 2013). Due to this ‘friendship,’ many individuals are not aware that they are the subject of crime, and come to accept abuse as part of the relationship (Forster & Pearson, 2020; McCarthy, 2017). Increased awareness of this type of crime has been important when recognising some of the unique ways that disabled people might be targeted as opposed to other identity groups. Notably, people

with learning difficulties are described to be ‘obvious “soft touch”, highly visible and vulnerable in the community, and often have few support mechanisms’ (ARC, 2012: 8). As I will discuss in chapter five, the concept was also identified by a number of participants, particularly in relation to recognising their own vulnerabilities to being targeted.

Despite the potential utility of ‘mate crime’ in practice, issues arise when the concept of mate crime comes to be seen as distinct from the wider framing of hate crime. Here, the assumption is that disabled people are made victim due to their own inherent vulnerability, rather than that of perpetrator hostility (Edwards, 2014; Sherry and Amoatey, 2020). The words used to describe these crimes, and the assumptions that such descriptions encourage, impact on people’s ability to recognise and understand disability hate crimes in practice (Quarmby 2008, p. 26). According to Roulstone and Sadique (2013: 28), the assumption that disabled people are vulnerable ‘unhelpfully ensures that safeguarding and adult-protection measures often take precedence over criminal justice responses.’ By focusing upon the ‘vulnerability’ of the individual targeted, the onus is taken away from the perpetrator’s actions, and instead upon the way that the individual has made themselves vulnerable. The implication of this is the belief that no-one *really* hates disabled people, and instead that they are an easy target for victimization (Sherry, 2012).

The attribution of crime to vulnerability risks a medicalised narrative that focuses upon the behaviour of those targeted, rather than the actions and opinions of perpetrators. In addition to this, Roulstone et al (2011) highlight tensions surrounding the attribution of hate crimes to assumptions of vulnerability, which is held by many as operating in opposition to hate. Policy in England and Wales treat hate and vulnerability as oppositional motivations for crime, indicated by the Crown Prosecution Service [CPS](2007: 10):

not all crimes committed against disabled people are disability hate crimes – some crimes are committed because the offender regards the disabled person as being vulnerable.

As a result, although incidents may be reported to the police by disabled people, it is often the case that the element of hostility is discounted in favour of vulnerability

(Giannasi, 2015c). Echoed by Walters et al (2018), the notion of ‘hostility’ included within law is argued to be particularly problematic for the identification of disability-related hate crimes when it is considered in opposition of vulnerability. Therefore, despite providing a potential tool for recognising the nuances of disability hate crime, the distinction between hate and hate crime might serve to impede access to reporting services as well as the line of action followed where cases are brought to the attention of police services. In a context where disability hate crime is considered as the ‘poor relative of racist crime’ that remains to be overlooked and under recorded by police (Sheikh et al, 2010: 8), conceptual discrepancies are particularly troubling. This debate is picked up again in chapter five when drawing upon participants own observations about these different terms.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have brought together various discussions about hate crime policy and disability hate crime more specifically. A critical reading of policy indicates that the legislative framework adopted in England and Wales is not adequate to account for the nuances and complexities of disability hate crime. While recognising that policies in place are stronger than that which are available overseas (Tyson et al, 2015), it remains the case that many disabled people are being failed by the criminal justice system. I have shown how inequalities within policy exist which continue to impede the level of policy protection afforded to disabled people compare to other marginalized groups. It is not surprising then, that many disabled people, academics, and practitioners believe that disability hate crime has been left behind. Further to this, data comparisons between the number of recorded experiences, and those that are perceived to occur, are suggested to demonstrate a vast discrepancy. As I have outlined in this chapter, this discrepancy can be explained by a number of barriers faced by disabled people, such as access to reporting services and negative interactions with the criminal justice system.

A closer look at the nuances of disability hate crime similarly suggests that the narrow parameters of hate crime do not account for the everyday nature of hate that many disabled people experience. Research questions one and two attempt to address these issues by engaging with participants’ everyday experiences of hate and understanding more about the range of incidents that this entails. Indeed, these questions ask:

1. How do disabled people make sense of hate and hate crime within the context of their everyday lives?
2. To identify experiences of 'everyday hate' within the lives of disabled people.

As I have outlined in this chapter, a fundamental barrier to reporting hate crime that many disabled people experience, is ambiguity and confusion about what does and does not qualify as a reportable incident. This ambiguity, and indeed, disconnect between disabled people's everyday lives and the conceptualisation of hate crime, contributes to the silencing of lived experience. The everyday realities of disability hate crime are therefore missing from much discussion, and are placed at the forefront of this thesis.

In the following chapter, I discuss the concept of hate crime more broadly, paying attention to the ongoing conceptual debates that have sought to develop a more concise definition. Following a conceptual focus upon the very meaning of 'hate,' I consider some of the dominant approaches to understanding hate crime, including 'strain theory' and 'doing difference.' In order to bring these together, I will draw upon Sara Ahmed's 'circulations of hate.' Doing so helps to theorise the ways that hate might move between bodies, and come to stick upon the surface of collective Others. I then move to explore the relationship between disability and everyday space, before considering how these interactions might be constituted by the circulation of hate. Following the backdrop in this chapter on the prevalence of 'everyday hate' for many disabled people, a consideration of everyday space considers how bodies are moved and affected by different spaces, which thereby limit or enhance their affective capacities. Finally, I discuss the importance of engaging with the everyday forms of resistance that are enacted within the everyday lives of many disabled people.

Chapter 3

Disentangling ‘hate crime’: an outline of key debates

In the previous chapter, I provided an overview of hate crime policy in England and Wales and considered conceptual understandings of disability hate crime. In doing so, I argued that the current policy framework is limited in its ability to account for the diversity of hate crime experiences, and ultimately fails many disabled people as a result. In particular, I drew attention to the ‘everyday’ nature of disability hate, which is often excluded from the policy remit. In this chapter I consider the conceptual framing of hate crime and the way that our understanding of hate is positioned within this. Indeed, although the policy framework remains limited, more prominent conceptual issues lie with ambiguities of ‘hate’ rather than that of what constitutes a ‘crime’ (Burch, 2020a). Therefore, in this chapter, I bring some of these conceptual discussions together in order to assess key debates relating to the way in which we understand and frame hate crime.

What does hate really mean?

The concept of hate crime is multidisciplinary in nature. Scholars, practitioners, activists and policy-makers working within a myriad of communities and disciplines have sought to understand how these particular crimes differ from other criminal offenses. Doing so attends to the motivations underpinning these crimes, and what this might mean for those who are targeted. From all directions, we have witnessed growing attempts to employ a joined-up approach that works towards the development of good practice, informed by good policy and scholarship (Chakraborti, 2015b). As I will argue throughout this thesis, a joined-up approach is imperative, albeit potentially messy and conflicting. A key issue in connecting these different areas of work centres upon how we approach the problem of hate crime, and in particular, the conflicting time-scales and conceptual rigor that this involves (Giannasi, 2015b). Hall (2015b: 17), reflecting upon his own experiences, notes ‘that research necessarily takes time to provide “answers” that practitioners need yesterday.’ This criticism of academic inquiry is both fair and accurate. Indeed, while academic research can dig deep into the cultural fabric of social issues, it remains the case that these issues exist long before they are the topic of academic inquiry.

In addition to the delay in bringing issues to the forefront of academic research, there is a disconnect between how we understand hate crime, both within and outside of academia. A common friction between academia and real-world practice arises in the academic pursuit for greater conceptual clarity versus the desire for a workable and concise definition. While it is often the case that practitioners ‘adopt a much more straightforward stance for practical reasons,’ such an approach ‘requires few of the machinations evident within academic interpretations’ (Chakraborti, 2016: 580). For this reason, there have been conflicting agendas in the pursuit to understand hate crime as a phenomenon existing within the context of ‘real life’ and that as an ideologically constructed concept that can be unravelled through philosophical, psychological and sociological inquiry. This divergence in how we come to understand hate crime can exacerbate the strain between the work of practitioners, those targeted, and academics. Put by Chakraborti (2016: 580) the increasing academic conceptualisation of hate crime has created a concept that is ‘too complex’ and ‘too detached from the everyday realities’ of victims.’ That is, while the conceptual rigour of any concept is important, it is vitally important to focus upon how the concept can be applied and used within the wider community and in practice.

One of the primary questions of this research is to explore the way in which people understand hate and hate crime within the context of their everyday lives, and the extent to which the current concept allows for this. In order to do so, engagement with ongoing conceptual debates is still important and is discussed in this section. In particular, it is useful to consider the way in which hate crimes are framed in relation to the underlying notion of ‘hate’ that they express. Both for participants in this research, and researchers more broadly, a lack of clarity towards the meaning of hate has been a notable sticking point. Evident from the conception of this term, authors have commented upon the absence of the emotion of hate in hate crime. Jacobs and Potter (1998: 11) argue that hate crime ‘is not really about hate, but [is instead] about bias or prejudice’ and Mason-Bish (2013) contends that these crimes are more complex than ‘hate’ as they are typically committed to reinforce processes of marginalization. Drawing upon the policy context outlined previously, it is also notable that there is a general absence of the word ‘hate’ within legislation. Instead, legislators tend to rely on less emotive, yet arguably as conceptually slippery, terminology such as ‘prejudice’ ‘bias’ and ‘hostility’ (Iganski, 2008). From this

perspective, the suggested seriousness of the term ‘hate’ while important for gaining political recognition, might obscure the extent to which individuals are able to relate their own experiences to the concept of hate crime.

A sociological reading of hate

Hate crime can be considered to exist within much broader patterns of oppression and systems of violence (Perry, 2003). Our understanding of, and relationship to hate, is contextually specific and unique (Ahmed, 2014). Indeed, the concept of hate is used within a diverse range of situations and by a variety of social actors, often with little reflection upon the meaning or significance that this term carries. When people talk about hate, the term takes on different meanings, and describes an array of emotions and feelings (Sternberg & Sternberg 2008). For example, the emotions inherent to one’s hatred for a specific type of food, leisure activity, or genre of music may vary dramatically from the level of hate that one feels towards an individual that we feel has harmed us in some way, or a political party that we are ideologically opposed to. Our use of hate to describe our feelings in these different situations encompass a wide range of emotional intensities, and result in a diverse range of responses. It is unsurprising, then, that there are many interpretations and understandings of the term, many of which I outline below.

There have been many attempts to conceptualise or theorise about hate as a feeling, all of which propose differing degrees of seriousness and consciousness. For some, hate is a feeling that one ‘has’ towards a particular object, subject, or idea. For example, Nancy (2014) takes up the notion of ‘revenge’ and the perception that one may be our enemy as an analytical hinge in her own conceptualisation of hate. Specifically, Nancy’s work traces the meaning of hate to the Latin verb *odi* and German *hassen*, meaning ‘the idea of a pursuit, or a hunt: the idea of tracking down the hated other, catching him up and seeking to eliminate him’ (Nancy 2014: 20). From this perspective, hate is constructed as an individual emotion that has a conscious component, to which revenge is a means of displaying this rationalised cognition. While Berry (1999) defines hate as an irrational feeling with little logic, the understanding of hate as a feeling attributed to ‘revenge’ recognises both cognition and accountability. According to Iganski (2008: 29) for example, while it is tempting to think about hate as an irrational emotional outburst, there remains a ‘quick calculation’ underpinning any action or expression. Accountability can, from this

understanding, be placed fully within the realm of perpetrators who commit hate, rather than the individual or group deemed to be the perceived or real instigator of 'revenge.' The shifting of accountability away from those targeted is encouraging considering the tendency to label disabled people's inherent 'vulnerability' as the reason for them being targeted (Roulstone et al, 2011; Roulstone and Sadique, 2013). On the other hand, situating the blame upon 'hateful' individuals entirely, risks reducing hate to psychological explanations that neglect the role of society (Kielinger & Stanko 2002, p.5 cited in Mason-Bish 2013). Most notably raised in the emerging field of Zemiology, there are growing pressures to recognise these structural harms that might give way to individual acts of harm (Copson, 2018).

Conceptually, revenge and hate are positioned in relation to one another through the process of othering, all of which exists within a particular social structure. While the narrative surrounding othering can change, there remains an underpinning sense of both hate and revenge towards those marked in this way. In their conceptualisation, Sternberg and Sternberg (2008:18) identify three components of hate: negation of intimacy (pursuit of distance), passion (intense anger or fear in response to threat), and commitment (to the 'them' based upon contempt for the targeted group). Underpinning each of these components, is a relationship between individual emotions and cognitions in relation to their surrounding structures and narratives. Thus, hate is not positioned as solely located within any one individual, but as a feeling that is socially enshrined. We can draw links here to the work of Staub (2005), who has explored how the development of destructive ideologies about others can rationalise negative views and intensify negative feelings towards them. Also evident in Bauman's (1989) critique of the 'civilising process,' it is through the hegemony of destructive and demoralising narratives about the marked out other (the hated object/s), that it becomes possible to rationalise hate on a social and cultural scale. For example, as demonstrated in his work on *Modernity and the Holocaust*, Bauman (1989) shows how resentment towards Jewish people became routinized by indoctrination and governed practices.

The rationalisation of hate towards disabled people is not a new phenomenon. As discussed in chapter two, the marginalization of some disabled people throughout history has relied upon the inferior positioning of the other. To this end, we can

understand the role of hate as it operates within the very process of negotiating boundaries between selves and others (Ahmed, 2004b). Such a conceptualisation of hate will be developed further in the following section as I position this within the wider understanding of hate crime and identity boundaries.

The concept of hate is subject to interpretation depending upon the context that it occurs within. For this reason, Sternberg and Sternberg (2008) argue that it is not possible to understand hate within a vacuum and that we should attend to the complex context that it is surrounded by. The contextual significance of hate is a running thread throughout this chapter, which is developed by a focus upon its circulation within the context of the everyday. Crucial to my own understanding of hate is a recognition of the way in which bodies come to interact within a given space and context. From this perspective, each encounter of hate is entirely subjective and full of affective possibility. While subjectivity is envisioned within this work as a productive tool for recognition (See chapter five), the subjective nature of hate crime has attracted critics concerned with the unlawful regulation of our opinions and belief systems. Commenting upon the implementation of hate speech ‘provisions’, for example, Kiska (2012: 112) argues that such laws ‘have shut down debate and created a heckler’s veto. In the end, a chilling effect is created that leads to self-censorship and an overly sensitive society.’ Echoing this, Tammy Bruce (2001:xi), a so-called ‘openly gay, pro-choice, gun-owning, pro-death penalty, liberal, voted-for-Reagan feminist’ contends that hate speech laws involve ‘the actual criminalization of the most private, personal, and subjective part of our lives- what we think’ (Bruce, 2001: 45). For these authors, the articulation of hate is merely an opinion which should therefore be protected under the right to freedom of expression. I fundamentally disagree with the upholding of the right to free speech where ‘opinions’ are founded upon the denigration and discrimination of others. The way that we work with and define hate crime should be able to account for these hateful articulations. In the following section, I explore different approaches to hate crime and assess their relevance to the presence of ‘everyday’ hate.

Towards a workable definition of hate crime

Despite there now being an extensive literature base on hate crime across the globe, conceptual ambiguities continue to impede the development of a shared understanding. Questions concerning which identity groups are likely to be targeted (Mason-Bish, 2015), the range of incidents underpinned by hostility (Walters et al, 2016). the harms of hate (Iganski, 2008; Bell & Perry, 2015; Soorenian, 2020) and any definitive analysis of motivational factors, or perpetrator classification, are ongoing (McDevitt et al, 2010; Tyson and Hall, 2015). In the remaining sections of this chapter, I will attempt to address these questions and bring together an understanding of hate crime that is inclusive, relevant to ‘real life’ incidents, and conceptually clear. To do so, I will first outline two dominant conceptualisations of hate crime; that of ‘strain theory’ and ‘doing difference.’ Then, I bring these approaches together in a way that recognises hate crime as a mechanism of othering predicated upon socio-economic status and perceived, or real strain (Walters, 2011). In order to demonstrate this further, I then move to consider the concept of hate crime within the theoretical framings of spatiality and affect theory.

Approaching ‘hate crime’

As I have outlined in the writing above, working towards a shared understanding of hate crime is complex. However, there have been some conceptualisations of hate crime that have been particularly influential when cutting across some of the disparities. According to strain theory, hate crimes are committed in response to the perception of instability (or strain) in our own lives, which can logically be attributed to a designated other. From this perspective, ‘hate crime is a way of *responding* to *threats* to the legitimate means of achieving society’s prescribed goals’ (Hall, 2014: 72; original emphasis). Similarly noted by Sternberg & Sternberg (2008) the construction of negative and/or derogatory ideologies about the targeted group can form a basis for the feeling of hate, particularly where strain is involved. Indeed, spikes in the number of reported hate crimes during periods of financial and/or moral instability are widely noted. Stories, for example, that gained prominence throughout Nazi Germany, claiming that disabled people were ‘useless eaters’ (Barnes 2012) and ‘worthless people’ (Hubbard 2013) and that Jewish people were a threat to *volk* (Bauman, 1989). These stories justified a ‘task of safeguarding the people from an overgrowth of the weeds’ (Biale 1986: 132) through the means of poison and gas

(Wildt, 1938 cited in Friedlander 2009). In addition, Costello & Hodson (2009) write about depictions of marginalized ethnic groups as animal-like, including the portrayal of people of colour as apes, Jewish people as vermin, and American Indians as savages. Building upon this narrative further, Smith (2014), drawing upon the words of Godwyn in 1680, notes how the perception of Africans as ‘Unman’d and Unsoul’d’ and thus on par with ‘brutes,’ normalized and indeed, justified widespread cultural practices of slavery.

More recently, research conducted by Borell (2015) and Allen (2015) have shown that British Muslim women experienced an increase in negative treatment following the tragedies of 9/11 due to widespread media attention on the threat of ‘terrorists.’ Such findings are not alone, Perry (2014) suggests that there is often a surge of reactive, Islamophobic hate crimes following terrorist incidents. Such incidents have been considered as ‘trigger events’ which lead to an increase in the number of religiously and racially motivated hate crimes (Benier, 2016; Byers & Jones 2007; Burnap & Williams 2015; Hanes and Machin, 2014). In addition, media representations of disabled people as ‘scrounger,’ ‘cheats,’ and ‘scum’ (Briant et al. 2011; Briant et al. 2013; Garthwaite 2011) have contributed to negative attitudes of, and treatment towards, disabled people. Work by Quarmby (2013), for example, suggests that the negative media portrayal of disabled people as financial burdens during a period of austerity have resulted in increased negative attitudes towards disability. Such stories present a form of mechanistic dehumanization, to which individuals or groups are presented as lacking pro-social values such as equality and helpfulness (Esses et al. 2013; Haslam 2006). As showcased upon the online platform, Reddit, disabled people have been presented as ‘parasites,’ ‘thieves,’ and ‘leeches’ who are the enemy to ‘the productive class’ (Burch 2018; Burch, 2020a,b). Caught up in a narrative which places the ‘hardworking taxpayer’ as victim to the fraudulent behaviour of welfare recipients, disabled people have been subject to a story of resentment and blame cloaked under the veil of austerity discourse (Hughes 2015).

In the examples presented above, the work of strain is apparent in the way in which certain groups are perceived as threatening to the social order. Indeed, dehumanizing discourses about the other bring to the surface a collective body held together under the presumption of threat and risk (Esses et al, 2013). Developing this further, Perry (2001) argues that strain operates within already established power relations. In one

of the most widely cited approaches to understanding hate crime, Perry's (2001, 2003) work argues that hate crime is a vitally important mechanism concerned with 'doing difference.' Attending to the structural ordering of society that is predicated upon perceptions of power (Hall, 2013), 'doing difference' is about the policing of identity boundaries. Perry (2003: 98) explains:

not only is the other different; by definition s/he is also aberrant, deviant, inferior. Structures of oppression operate through a set of dualisms - such as good/evil, superior/inferior, strong/weak, dominant/subordinate - wherein the second half of the binary is always marked as deficiency

As a mechanism for 'doing difference,' hate crimes are thus understood to be underpinned by the workings of power. These crimes are violent expressions that do important boundary-work; policing the boundaries, and reinforcing power inequalities, between identity groups. Drawing upon the work of Perry, Chakraborti (2015a: 15) defines hate crime as:

'acts of violence and intimidation directed towards marginalized communities, and are therefore synonymous with the power dynamics present within modern societies that reinforce the "othering" of those who are seen as different'

Structural accounts of hate crime are important in order to recognise the underlying structural and societal discourses that have caused particular groups to be targeted (Mason-Bish, 2013). This structural recognition is particularly important for disabled people in order to recast accountability onto perpetrators and their surrounding social context, rather than individuals themselves. Such an approach purposefully resists the psychologising of perpetrators as well as the individualising discourses that typically position disabled people as 'vulnerable' and thus, in part responsible for their own victimization (Ralph et al, 2016). Indeed, we are called to question the types of cultural narratives and structures that create ready environments for the directing of hostility towards already marginalized groups.

By recognising the structural and socio-economic forces at play within boundary-work, it is possible to move away from an understanding of hate crime as an act committed by one individual to one single person. We can instead understand the contextual fabric that moves hate within the symbolic boundaries of ‘us’ and ‘them.’ Ahmed (2014: 49), for example, explains that whilst hate might be directed to a particular figure, ‘it tends to do so by aligning the particular with the general.’ Thus, to better understand and conceptualise hate crime, it is useful to consider the way in which hate circulates and comes to stick upon the surfaces of particular ‘collective bodies.’ In the next section, I build upon the approaches of hate already discussed by engaging with an understanding of how hate circulates; and how this is affected by the interactions and histories of and between bodies as they come to occupy their surrounding space. That is, by attending to an understanding of hate as it circulates, I follow the work of Walters (2011) in bringing together strain theory and ‘doing difference.’

Circulations of hate

In the previous section, I outlined different ways of conceptualising ‘hate’ and ‘hate crime.’ I have drawn upon both strain theory and notions of ‘doing difference’ in order to explain hate crime as a response to threat that is simultaneously bound up with power relations and boundary-work. More recently, the work of Hall (2015) and Walters (2011) have sought to bring strain theory and structural explanations of hate crime together. From this perspective, we can understand hate crime as a mechanism of scapegoating others as the cause of perceived, or real strain (Walters, 2011). From this perspective, hate crime arises as a response to ‘the fear that Others will encroach upon dominant group identity *and* socio-economic security that fuels the climate of prejudice’ (Hall, 2015: 77). Imperative in developing this climate of prejudice, is that the relationship between ‘us’ and ‘them’ is firmly established.

In the following section, I explore the way in which these boundaries between ‘us’ and ‘them’ are re-enacted through the expression of hate crime. Concerned with both the affects of strain, and the affirmation of structural inequalities and relationships, hate crime works to bind bodies together, as well distinguish them from others. Indeed, it is through the materialisation of feelings of fear, disgust, and threat that the relationship and distance between these figures can be secured (Ahmed, 2014). Thus, ‘hate cannot be found in one figure, but works to create the outline of different figures

or objects of hate' (Ahmed, 2014: 440). It is to this point that I now turn to Ahmed's 'cultural politics of emotions' in order to explore the way that hate circulates and becomes stuck upon other figures.

The circulation of hate creates what Ahmed terms, 'affective economies' (Ahmed, 2004a; 2014). Importantly, 'in affective economies, hatred may not be one singular emotion, but rather a constellation of negative emotions including disdain, fear, and disgust.' (Rinaldi et al, 2020: 38). Within these economies, hate circulates and is distributed among those figures who come to be read as objects of that emotion. In this way, emotions are understood to move between bodies. Without residing within any single body, emotions *do* things when they move; they bind figures together as a collective distinct from the other (Ahmed, 2004). In order to bind figures together and away from one another, the circulation of hate reads some bodies as the reason or cause of our 'hate' (Ahmed, 2014). These figures constitute the 'you,' and the 'they,' which in turn, validates a collective alignment to 'us.' Emotions work within the process of othering through the stickiness of these circulated discourses as signs become 'stuck' onto bodies, who come to represent particular meanings (Lipman, 2006). Relating to Perry's (2003) contention that the process of 'doing difference' is attributed to unequal power relations, we can understand these signs as having a rich history. Indeed, the circulation of hate is not entirely random: some bodies, even before the point of contact, are already read as objects of hate.

By considering the way that hate moves between bodies with the circulation of sticky signs, it draws attention to the ordinariness of hate crime. Indeed, a central theme of this thesis is that hate crime is an ordinary mechanism in the affirmation of structural inequality and as a response to the perception of threat. The feeling of fear materialises as a response to the perceived threat of the other as 'an affective anticipation of what might yet happen that must be acted on in the present' (Coleman, 2013: 24). Hate crime can be understood as one means of acting upon this affective anticipation where the perception of a group surfaces upon the body of an individual. Therefore, although the violence of hate is felt immediately by the targeted individual, this contact sets off a chain of affects to the wider identity community. Fundamental to our understanding of hate crime is not simply that hate crimes hurt more, but that these affects are also felt beyond the initial individual. Hate crimes have 'spatial' and 'terroristic' impacts

upon individuals as well as their community (Iganski, 2008). Defined as ‘message crimes,’ hate crimes extend a warning to all members of a targeted community that they are not welcome and are at risk of being targeted (Perry, 2015). In this way, the circulation of hate is bound to the formation of space, and the way that bodies are read within these spaces. The circulation of hate thus comes to shape how space is occupied by bodies by ‘organiz[ing] subjects and spaces with the purpose of excluding, expunging, and ending non-normative living’ (Rinaldi et al, 2020: 48). In the following section, I explore the relationship between ‘everyday spaces’ and the ordinariness of disability hate crime.

Disability and everyday space

In this chapter so far, I have considered different ways of understanding and approaching the issue and concept of hate crime. Developing discussion in chapter two on disability hate crime more specifically, I continue to draw upon debates about hate crime across a range of disciplines and spheres of work. In doing so, I hope to provide an overview of key debates and conceptual developments that can work towards a more nuanced approach to understanding experiences of hate and hate crime in the everyday lives of disabled people. A key focus, then, is about an understanding of hate and hate crime as it is situated within the ‘everyday.’ As I have suggested, it is now widely agreed that hate and hate crime are not simply unusual acts committed by dedicated members of hate groups (Ahmed, 2014; Browne et al, 2011; Iganski, 2008). Instead, hate crimes have become part of the natural order of modernity (Bauman, 1989) embedded within cultural practices that differentiate and hierarchize members of the population. What is necessary, therefore, is that our understanding and definition of hate crime is responsive to the ordinariness of incidents, and is not limited to those deemed labelled as the most extreme. To respond to this, I now consider what we already know about ‘everyday hate’ and the spaces that this can be situated within. I will discuss the importance of thinking more critically about space, and how bodies are shaped and moved within these by the circulation of hate.

Before moving to discuss everyday space and hate more specifically, it is important to recognise the works that have already begun to think about disability and spatiality. The relationship between disability and space is rooted within the field of disability studies. Marking a shift away from the medicalisation of disability, scholars and

activists in the 20th century began to write about the way in which societal barriers create the problems of ‘disability.’ Following the publication of the *Fundamental Principles of Disability* (UPIAS, 1976), the social model of disability was officially coined by Mike Oliver in his book *Social Work with Disabled People* (1983). The social model of disability became a tool by which to name and challenge processes of disablement, which ultimately result in the construction of disability as other, and marginalization of people with impairments (Oliver, 1983; See also Barnes, 2020). While it is not in the scope of this thesis to revise these early and important contributions, it remains fruitful to acknowledge how this movement has helped to think about the ways that disabled people come to negotiate their surrounding spaces. Indeed, while impairment is described as an individual attribute of the mind or body, disability refers to the ‘disadvantage or restriction of activity’ (UPIAS, 1976) which is imposed by the normative organization of society. And while the ‘organization of society’ refers to a whole host of structural, political, and bureaucratic processes (Oliver, Sapey and Thomas, 2012), the organization of physical space has been fundamentally important. According to Imrie (2004: 279) a whole host of physical barriers ‘prevent disabled people’s ease of access to a range of places, and are implicated in denying disabled people the right to determine where they want to go.’ From this understanding, it is clear to see how both the physical and symbolic organization of space can mean that certain bodies become excluded.

As spaces are organized in categorical and hierarchical ways, it is important to recognise that these exclusions occur beyond the surface of the body. Indeed, bodies are moved by these configurations of space, and aligned to or against one another. Put by Kitchin (1998: 344), ‘space is understood as not just a passive container of life, but also as an active constituent of social relations.’ That is, there is a recursive relationship between disability, identity, and space, meaning that the way we come to think about ourselves and others is shaped by the spaces that we are situated within (Imrie and Edwards, 2007). From this perspective, it is not possible to think about the body and space as entirely separate entities, but intimately intertwined with, and in affect of, one another.

The social model of disability has been fundamental in providing alternative ways of thinking about and understanding disability, however, critics argue that there has been

a reluctance to talk about these feelings and injuries that exist beyond the surface of the skin (Morris, 1996). Carol Thomas (2004: 40) argues that:

The oppression that disabled people experience operates on the ‘inside’ as well as on the ‘outside’: it is about being made to feel of lesser value, worthless, unattractive, or disgusting as well it is about ‘outside’ matters

While there are material consequences of disablement, such as exclusion and marginalization, there are embodied materialities also at play, within which spatial configuration is lived and felt within those bodies. Thomas’ (1999) concept of ‘psycho-emotional disablism’ attends to these ‘inside’ matters; to explore the way in which structurally imposed barriers might take shape as barriers are imposed upon the self. From this perspective, the physical and symbolic organization of space is felt both upon and beyond the materiality of the body (Reeve, 2020). Taking these thoughts and feelings into account is important due to how they shape the ways in which people feel about themselves (Bê, 2019; Bê, 2020), both as an individual and in relation to their surrounding space. Indeed, this spatial configuration does identity-work in the way that it marks certain bodies as ‘misfitting,’ (Garland-Thompson, 2011) or in need of additional support. For example, while disabled people’s use of assistive technologies is often read as a reflection of their innate neediness, non-disabled people’s reliance upon the car as a mobility aid is broadly uncontested² (Bê, 2019). In alignment to these approaches, the following section seeks to outline everyday spaces of hate and the way in which these spaces come to be lived. In doing so, I move towards an understanding of hate crime that attends to how bodies are both positioned and felt by the circulation of hate within everyday life.

Everyday spaces of hate

We have witnessed increasing attention towards the circulation of hate within those ordinary spaces of everyday life. Hate crimes are not engineered encounters, but occur within ‘the normal frictions of day-to-day life’ within the everyday spaces that we occur (Iganski, 2008: 45; See also Burch, 2020a). As indicated already in chapter two, the notion of ‘everyday hate’ is particularly relevant to the lives of many disabled

² While a reliance upon automotive transport is widely adopted and subject to less criticism, there does remain to be a concern about the relationship between obesity and a reliance upon driving, rather than more active forms of transport (See Frank et al, 2004; Hinde and Dixon, 2005).

people, who report experiencing forms of abuse, violence, bullying, and hate on a regular basis (EHRC, 2011; EHRC 2017). More recently, Nathan Hall and colleagues have employed a relational geography of disability hate crime, suggesting that there is ‘a geography of verbal abuse and harassment experienced by disabled people’ including ‘hotspots’ on public transport, in local neighbourhoods and on city centre streets’ (Hall and Bates, 2019: 101). Supported by the work of Wilkin (2020), experiences of disability hate crime are suggested to be particularly common upon public transport in England. Attending to the ‘everyday’ requires an engagement with the way in which ordinary, everyday spaces come to be occupied by different bodies who are shaped by the movement of emotions and signs within that space.

Although not explicitly related to disability hate crime, a recent project on ‘mapping’ fat hatred (Rinaldi et al 2020: 37) employs Ahmed’s work on affect theory to explore ‘how fat hatred circulates as an affective economy: how it flows across, attaches to, and comes to define or value different bodies.’ In this, the authors show how the circulation of hate is informed by the physicality of space, and how it allows and prevents certain bodies to *be* and move in different ways. For example, in *Things I Learned From Fat People on the Plane*, Dark (2019) reflects upon the physically restricting make-up of passenger aeroplanes which causes some bodies to be in contact with one another, often resulting in hostile interactions. That is, the architecture of space reflects underpinning assumptions about the types of bodies anticipated to occupy those spaces. As a result of this spatial configuration, fat hatred is argued to circulate between bodies, indicated by the presence of dirty looks and nasty comments (Harjunen, 2019). The presence of those unanticipated bodies highlights these physical characteristics as other and out of place, which in turn can reinforce expectations about whose bodies should, and should not be within the space. Hate circulates within these normatively architected spaces, becoming stuck upon those who are not deemed to fit properly and ultimately, marking them as out of place.

In *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (2014), Ahmed reflects upon an encounter described by Audre Lorde to describe the movement of hate between bodies (and the reconfiguration of space as a result). During the encounter, which looks back to Audre Lorde’s childhood, contact is made between her and a white woman whilst on a train. This contact triggers a reaction from the white woman; twitching, staring, and nostrils

flaring, followed by a sudden movement which re-creates the space between them. As Ahmed (2014: 53) describes, ‘the bodies that come together, that almost touch and co-mingle, slide away from each other, becoming relived in their apartness.’ There is a history that ‘sticks’ causing Audre Lorde’s body to take on the loaded interaction and see herself as the cause of the woman’s reaction. What this encounter demonstrates, is the way in which the arrival of certain bodies within social space are already read as hated objects. We can see this process of racial hatred in the way in which the presence of bodies of colour come to be marked out and othered within a range of public spaces. These interactions are captured by the Black Lives Matter movement, which responds to the ‘violence inflicted on Black communities by the State and vigilantes’ (BlackLivesMatters, n.d.). Writing about this movement, Lebron (2017) notes that ‘walking while black’ often entails being already read as dangerous and suspicious when entering particular spaces. Indeed, those impacted by the deaths of their loved ones at the hands of US police officers have commented upon ‘being black in the wrong place’ (Bhopal, 2018: 14). Racial hatred, then, involves the attribution of racial others with those meanings and signs that are historically sticky. In turn, many people of colour have reported behaviour management strategies when occupying potentially risky spaces in order to minimise contact with the police (Fox-Williams, 2019; Futterman et al, 2016). What is important, then, is not just an understanding of those spaces as potential sites of hate, but the way that bodies come to interact with, and negotiate this space as a result. Taking these into account is fundamental for our understanding of hate crime within everyday life.

A focus upon space within the public domain asks questions about those other bodies that are not perceived to fit in, and what this feels like (Fanghanel, 2020). To ask these questions attends to the affective capacity of bodies; and in particular, how our capacity to *be* and to *do* is shaped by the spaces that we move within. Research questions three and four take up this analytic inquiry further, asking:

3. In what ways can hate *impress* upon the lives of disabled people in relation to how they position themselves within the spaces around them?
4. How do disabled people manage these experiences, and how can we harness their everyday forms of resistance?

In the final section of this chapter, I consider the relationship between bodies and space. In doing so, I contend that an understanding of hate crime must also account for the way that it makes us feel, be, and become.

Affect theory and affective capacities

In this final section, I will outline how affect theory can support the development of a more nuanced and inclusive understanding of hate crime. Namely, it seeks to draw attention to the affective dimensions of this type of crime and the feelings and capacities that it can evoke. Affect theory has generated much discussion, and amassed a number of different approaches and ways of thinking about emotions. A deep exploration of this is not in the remit of this chapter, but readers can find a useful outline of some more prominent approaches in Gorton (2007). For the purpose of this thesis, Ahmed's 'circulation of emotions' and Wetherell's (2015) understanding of 'affective practice' have offered a useful theoretical tool for thinking about how hate comes to circulate between bodies, and within particular spaces. In the following, I consider how the circulation of hate can limit the affective capacity of disabled people. On the contrary, I also explore the becoming of bodies which can generate unique understandings of *knowing* and *being* in the world (Wetherell, 2015). To end, I engage with the concept of resistance and argue that it is equally important to harness the moments where our affective capacity is enhanced as a response to oppression.

Drawing upon the work of Latour (2004), Blackman and Venn (2010) propose that a move towards affect asks questions about what a body can do. Moving away from thinking about the body as a singular entity, affect theory considers 'how bodies are always thoroughly entangled processes, and [are] defined by their capacities to affect and be affected' (Blackman and Venn, 2010: 9). By engaging with affect theory, then, we are asked to think about the way that bodies (both human and non-human) interact with one another, which is also shaped by the characteristics of the space that we are in. Affect theory asks questions about affectivity within the context of our everyday encounters, spaces, and lives (Jóhannsdóttir et al, 2020; Wetherell, 2015). It considers the way that feelings and movements are negotiated in the public sphere which come to be experienced through the body (Gorton, 2007). In explaining the emotional relationship between bodies and space, Brennan (2004 cited in Åhäll, 2018) discusses the presence of an 'affective atmosphere.' This 'affective atmosphere' describes the way in which we sense the moods characterised within the spaces that we enter, and

that this mood ultimately influences how we feel and become in that space. These atmospheres are relational and unfixed in that they are not defined by the site alone, but by the configuration of different bodies and signs within these spaces.

Hall and Bates (2019) propose that a focus upon our relational encounters within different geographical spaces is key to recognising that space is not pre-made, but negotiated and reconstituted by those who occupy it. It is the movement of emotions between bodies within these spaces that can influence the way that this space is made and lived in the present and future. Importantly, the movement of emotions does not suggest that emotions move from the outside and become something that we ‘have,’ but rather that these movements are affective in the ways that they shape the surface of individual and collective bodies (Ahmed, 2014). This approach situates ‘emotion in our everyday lives and [considers] the way in which affect works to inform and inspire action’ (Gorton, 2007: 345). Emotions are not subjective properties, but circulate within and between bodies to shape what our bodies do and become. Indeed, in earlier sections of this chapter, I presented a number of examples where a collective ‘us’ and ‘them’ had been affirmed through the circulation of emotional narratives. Such narratives are affective in the way in which they come to be ‘sticky’ (Ahmed, 2014). These ‘sticky’ signs align some bodies with one another and distinguish them from Others, thus constituting the ‘I’ and ‘us’ against ‘you’ and ‘them’ which is inherent within the expression of hate crime.

From this perspective, affect theory can offer much to our understanding of disabled people’s experiences of hate crime, drawing attention to how ‘our sense of self is shaped by and through our relations with others’ (Gorton, 2007: 339; See also Nishida, 2017). Moreover, it is particularly useful for thinking about hate crime due to the way in which hateful encounters are historically constituted³. That is, ‘sticky’ signs are not randomly constructed, but shaped by the histories of bodies (Ahmed, 2014). Indeed, as Blackman and Venn (2010) note, the movement of affect between bodies is not accidental (although not entirely predefined either), but predicated upon histories which already perceive some bodies as ‘dangerous’ or other. It is through the stickiness of signs (which are inherently shaped by the histories associated with

³ Later in this chapter, I discuss the way that our affective capacity also comes to shape (and be shaped by) our future selves, when I move to explore resistance.

bodies) that we can differentiate between figures and move emotions accordingly. In relation to these different histories, the movement of emotions, such as hate, is distributed differently. Put by Ahmed (2004a: 127), ‘the movement between signs is what allows others to be attributed with emotional value, in this case, as being fearsome, an attribution that depends on a history that “sticks.”’

Jóhannsdóttir et al (2020) consider the stickiness of signs in terms of power relations, which come to shape the ‘unevenness of affective practices.’ Indeed, they pose the following questions to investigate how this unevenness takes shape:

‘How practices are clumped, who gets to do what, when and what relations does an affective practice make, enact, disrupt and reinforce? Who is emotionally privileged, who is emotionally disadvantaged and what does this privilege and disadvantage look like?’ (Jóhannsdóttir et al, 2020).

Bringing together the understandings of hate crime outlined earlier in this chapter, it is possible to see how the circulation of emotions can help to theorise the way in which strain and hierarchies of difference operate within hate crimes. Moving beyond this, it extends these approaches by focusing upon the emotionality of these crimes, and how they come to shape the affective capacity of those targeted.

Although not explicitly, previous research on hate crime and more broadly, ‘abuse,’ demonstrates the way that our encounters with other bodies and within different spaces shape our affective capacity in the future. For example, research conducted by Valentine (1993) identified environments such as hotels and the workplace to be organized and appropriated by heterosexuality, often causing feelings of fear and being. ‘out of place’ among lesbians that occupy them. Perry and Alvi (2012) examined the experiences of ‘vicarious’ victims, that is, others who share the same identity as the targeted individual. In this, they draw attention to accounts of exclusion and risk felt among various ‘vulnerable communities.’ Similarly, Mencap’s project, #ImWithSam has reported that incidents such as verbal attacks, physical attacks, threats, and accusations of paedophilia can make disabled people feel scared, less confident, and more likely to stay within the confines of their own home (Dimensions 2016). Perhaps most notably, Iganski (2006) has made sense of these wider emotional

harms as a form of ‘locational imprisonment.’ Felt by targeted communities, ‘locational imprisonment’ deems certain areas as unsafe and, therefore, out of range. As a result, certain spaces become symbolically bound to the affirmation of certain identities whilst simultaneously becoming ‘not for’ others. In this way, hate crimes are argued to be ‘terroristic’ in nature (Bell & Perry, 2015), reiterating an ‘anti-other’ message towards the targeted individual’s community as a whole (Iganski, 2008; Mills et al, 2017).⁴ We can conceptualise these terroristic messages as impressions upon the surface of those other figures, who in turn, might come to avoid spaces where the occurrence of hate is anticipated to be particularly likely.

In this section I have explored the ways in which the interactions between different bodies can be shaped by their surrounding space, which in turn, influences future encounters. Importantly, an engagement with affective capacity does not focus entirely upon the way that individuals are limited by oppressive encounters, but instead gives way to an appreciation of those moments that our affective capacity is shown to be enhanced. Wetherall (2012: 13) argues that ‘affective practice is continually dynamic with the potential to move in multiple and divergent directions.’ That is, our affective capacity can both impede or enhance what our bodies can do within the particularities of time and space. In the following, I attend to the ways that the affective capacities of bodies can be enhanced by their experiences of hate, and engage with the presence of resistance in the context of everyday life.

Resistance

A turn to affect theory goes beyond an exploration of how bodies are shaped by their surrounding space to take into account how the very existence of these bodies also comes to shape and distort the make-up of that space. Drawing upon the work of Deleuze and Guattari, for example, Fanghanel (2020) has considered the potential of female bodies to undo the organization of those striated spaces which have typically existed to normalise violence against women in public. For Fanghanel (2020), the presence of female bodies within these male-centric spaces helps to undo a configuration that affirms the normalization of violence and dominance among men

⁴ The relationship between terrorism and hate crime is disputed by Deloughery et al (2012) who argue that hate crimes are a ‘downward’ offense committed by a member of a majority towards a minority. On the contrary, terrorism is perceived to be an ‘upward’ crime as it tends to be members of a minority attacking members of a majority.

towards women. Similarly, Hall and Bates (2019) propose a ‘relational geography of disability hate crime’ which seeks to identify the intricate ways that disabled people create inclusive spaces within society. By being present within community spaces, and forging more inclusive sites within this:

disabled people are engaging with, negotiating, making sense of, and contesting, city spaces characterised by discrimination and exclusion, as well as welcoming and inclusion (Hall & Bates, 2019: 101).

Not only are we affected by our encounters within spaces, but we have the potential to shape what these encounters and spaces become. Emotions are therefore not only about the past, but how they’re sticking can ‘open up futures, in the ways that involve different orientations to others’ (Ahmed, 2014: 202).

We need to ask questions about these futures, and pave the way for harnessing these as they exist within the everyday lives of disabled people. Research questions three and four respond to this by asking questions about the way that bodies come to take shape in and of their surrounding spaces. I argue that a turn to the affective thus encourages an engagement with the everyday practices of resistance, negotiation, and meaning-making of disabled people. I make an explicit call to the agency that disabled people enact on a regular basis when navigating spaces that might not be structurally or symbolically designed for them, in addition to the ways that they might transform these spaces, or create new ones. Moreover, research question five seeks to explore the way in which these diverse spaces can be collectively negotiated and resisted:

5. What role can research play in strengthening the space to enable disabled people to collectively challenge hate crime?

Throughout the project, participants brought together their knowledge and experiences as a means of demonstrating how our affective capacity is realised when we acknowledge the sense of collectivity between other bodies. To do so calls for recognition of how ‘our affects – and what we desire – are enacted through our mutual interdependencies and assemblages rather than as manifestations of inherent humanist emotions’ (Goodley et al, 2018: 203). We live and exist through our relation to that which surrounds us; objects, spaces, people. These relations are thus constitutive of

how we see ourselves, and how we feel we belong to particular spaces. As I have explored in this chapter, these relations can limit our affective capacity and thereby hinder the extent to which our bodies can *be* and be lived within. Yet, I have also proposed that there are moments where our bodies are resistant; where our understanding and knowledge of the world opens up different ways of being. In these moments, our bodies have the capacity to shape the space around us, and our relations to others.

Concluding thoughts moving forward

In this chapter, I have engaged with key debates surrounding the concept of hate crime. In doing so, I have highlighted various tensions relating to the generation of a shared understanding, and raised awareness of how current conceptualisations might be excluding the significance of the everyday. Indeed, developing from the themes discussed in chapter two, this chapter sought to critically examine an understanding of hate crime that is more inclusive of the diverse range of incidents that many disabled people experience on a regular basis. In doing so, I have provided the backdrop underpinning research questions one and two. While strain theory and Perry's 'doing difference' are fruitful to emerging conceptualisations of hate crime, a consideration of affect theory helps to position hate crime within the ordinary spaces that we do or do not occupy within our everyday lives. Indeed, this chapter has presented the importance of thinking about the relationality of encounters between bodies that occur within particular spaces. As hate moves between bodies within a designated space, it shapes the affective capacity of these bodies, whilst simultaneously being shaped by these bodies. Experiences of hate can therefore be understood to influence the way that certain spaces (both past, present and future) might allow for the surfacing of collective bodies due to the types of signs that gain stickiness within them. Some bodies, then, are already read as other when they enter particular spaces, and are therefore more likely to be attributed with the movement of sticky signs that surround them. Following research question three, this research therefore seeks to explore in more depth the different ways that hate comes to 'impress' upon some disabled people, and to what implications this can have.

At the same time, affect theory asks questions about the enhancement of our affective capacity. It does not assume that our encounters within a particular space are

determined, but open to be shaped by and with one another. Put by Nishida (2017: 101)

‘the theorization of relationality through theories of affect and disability foregrounds the potential of two different bodies coming together and relating ontologically’

That is, we all have the potential to affect and be affected by others, and these connections can not be fully anticipated. Rather, our encounters are subject to the active ebb and flows between our bodies with the potential of reaffirming the particularities of space, or transforming them. Research questions four and five seek to explore these opportunities further by engaging with the way in which disabled people negotiate and resist encounters and space surrounding them.

Since the affects of hate move in these ways, the way that we define and conceptualise hate crime should take these wider harms into account. Similarly, a definition of hate crime should account for the element of ‘prejudice’ and perceived ‘threat’ that can arise in response to the perceived difference of others. In turn, hate crime is understood to target individual figures who are perceived to be representative of a collective other. With this in mind, the following definition proposed by Walters (2011: 315) is thought to be the most nuanced:

‘any type of crime or anti-social act aimed at intimidating and harming the victim (which has been motivated or partly motivated) by a prejudice, based on a generalisation about the victim’s actual or perceived membership of an identity group (which is different, at least in part, to that of the perpetrator’s), and which is typically based on a fear or belief that the victim (and others like him or her) will encroach the offender’s group identity, cultural norms and/or socio-economic security’

What this definition fails to take into account, however, is the affective harms of hate crime that can be experienced by the targeted individual as well as their wider community. Indeed, as it has been illustrated above, the circulation of hate can impede the affective capacity of individuals within particular spaces, thereby limiting how

some bodies might come to *be* and exist within their surrounding world. Thus, I have built upon Walter's definition to propose the following definition of hate crime:

any type of crime or anti-social act aimed at *intimidating and harming the victim and their wider identity community* which has been motivated or partly motivated, by a *prejudice*, based on a *generalisation about the victim's actual or perceived membership of an identity group* (which is different, at least in part, to that of the perpetrator's), and which is typically based on a *fear or belief that the victim (and others like him or her)* will encroach the offender's group identity, cultural norms and/or socio-economic security (Walters 2011: 315; emphasis added)

This definition is adopted throughout this thesis, and will be employed to make sense of the diversity of experiences and understandings shared by participants. I return to this definition in the conclusion chapter and break it down into a means of conceptualising hate crime that is more accessible and practical.

Developing an understanding of hate crime that takes account of its diversity, in terms of what it is, who it targets, where it takes place, and what affects it can have, is an important contribution to hate crime literature. Developing this further, this research also strives to continue a fundamental principle of disability studies, which aims to

'understand the complicated feelings which arise out of our everyday encounters with the world, [which] is central to the lives of all disabled people' (Morris, 1996: 5)

To understand more about disabled people's experiences of hate crime (and the diversity that this entails) it is imperative that we engage with these experiences directly. Based upon the premise that 'how we feel (consciously or unconsciously) about the world already tells us about how the world works' (Åhäll, 2018: 38) this research is committed to engaging with people's experiences, their emotions, and their understandings. In the following chapter, I outline the methods chosen in order to address the research questions underpinning this thesis.

Chapter 4

Methods

In this chapter, I outline how the methodological decisions that have been made throughout this research have been informed by my own ontological and epistemological positioning. Developing this, I describe my approach to sampling and recruitment, which was facilitated by a range of gatekeepers including disabled people's organizations (DPOs), peer-support groups, and charities. Next, I outline three key stages of the research design, including arts-based workshops, semi-structured interviews, and reflection-based workshops. I then outline my approach to analysis, and describe how I brought together of different types of data in accordance to emerging themes.

Following this, I outline some of the ethical considerations that have underpinned my approach to doing disability research, and the way that I have worked with participants. In particular, I describe the conflicts and tensions that have occurred when bringing ethical guidelines together with the right of disabled people to be involved in disability research. Next, I demonstrate the importance of bringing research together with real-world practices, and thus detail the different tools of dissemination that I have engaged with. Finally, I consider some of the methodological limitations that this research design poses and, in doing so, discuss the extent to which this research can contribute to the fields of disability studies and sociology, as well as wider hate crime research.

Positioning this research

In chapters two and three I mapped out the literary background that this research has emerged upon, outlining both the contextual and theoretical framework. In doing so, I suggested that there is a growing amount of interdisciplinary work aiming to understand, challenge, and prevent hate crime. However, with exception to some studies (Chakraborti et al, 2014; EHRC, 2011; Hollomotz, 2012; Quarmby, 2008; Quarmby, 2011; Wilkin, 2020), much of this research has excluded the stories and experiences of disabled people. Thus, this project has placed disabled people's experiences, understandings, and reflections at the forefront. Such an approach has brought together conceptual discussion and academic theorization with disabled

people's experiences. Importantly, these diverse experiences are positioned as unique and insightful sources of knowledge, rather than complimentary data to academic discussion. In this way, I have committed to sharing lived experiences of hate crime, and held myself accountable to these realities. This commitment is also a response to the wider need for greater accountability for the impacts of research to the lives of disabled people, as well as an appreciation of the expertise that disabled people have to offer, which is developed further in chapter eight.

Researcher positionality

Doing research, according to England (1994: 87) is 'intensely personal, in that the positionality and biography of the researcher plays a central role in the research process, in the field, as well as in the final text.' To map out the ontological and epistemological approach of this research, then, it is first necessary to position myself within the research process. To recognise how research is personal is not to reduce its validity or scientific significance, but calls attention to and reflects upon, how our own personal and political commitments come into being within the research process (Goodley & Smailes, 2011). It asks about how we inform, shape, and interpret research based upon our backgrounds and assumptions. Like Mason (1996: 41), I do not believe that it is possible to be a 'neutral data collector,' nor do I think that this objective role is desirable for this piece of research. Instead, I have actively reflected upon my own positioning throughout the entirety of this research which takes into account:

the impact and influence of our own value-laden subjectivities, challenging the notion that we are separate from what we produce, how we research, how we interact, how we interpret and understand our research field (Goodley & Smailes, 2011: 52).

For example, I am conscious that through the very nature of an interpretivist epistemology, I have shaped the way that data comes to be interpreted and presented. Acknowledging the influence that we have on research can be uncomfortable, but ensures continuing reflection upon our accountability to participants and the wider disability community. To do so, I have continued to ask myself how this research is, and can be, more empowering for those involved (Morris, 1992).

As the primary researcher, I am intimately bound to all stages of this research, bringing with me a plethora of disciplinary assumptions and values. I am a white, young, non-disabled and working-class female working in the field of disability studies. While the precarity of academia is unsettling, the works of disability studies, the concepts, the values, the lived experiences, and the community of those invested, have provided some comfort. Disability studies is my disciplinary home, and whilst I engage with my surrounding disciplinary neighbourhoods, disability studies is the place that I return to. At the same time, I have continued to reflect upon the tensions surrounding my residency within this field, as the role of non-disabled researchers within disability research is highly debated (Barnes and Mercer, 1997). While recognising that my identity will change in unexpected ways throughout the life-course, I do not currently identify as being disabled or having an impairment. Despite ongoing mental health issues, I do not feel that I experience the disabling structures, systems, and processes described by the social model of disability (Oliver, 1983). Against this backdrop, I have worried about how gatekeepers and participants will respond to me, both as a non-disabled researcher and a young female. Again, this position has influenced methodological decision, such as employing methods that relinquish control and have enabled me to *be* part of the groups I have been working with.

As I have outlined, this research has explored disabled people's experiences in order to gain a better understanding of 'everyday hate' and 'hate crime.' To do so, I have employed methods that place the voices and experiences of participants at the forefront (Schubotz, 2020). Notably, I have aligned to the values and practices underpinning participatory research, which has the potential to shape:

what we look at, how we look at things, what we label as problems, what problems we consider worth investigating and solving, and what methods are preferred for investigation and action (Maguire, 1987: 11).

That is, a participatory paradigm is concerned with thinking about research in different and often, more creative ways. It is about reflecting upon the types of issues we are passionate about, the kinds of knowledge we are seeking, and the different ways that we can work *with* people.

Participatory research has significant importance within the field of disability studies and has been fundamental to offering alternative and more inclusive means of researching issues that are relevant to the lives of disabled people (Oliver, 1992). Research is an opportunity for harnessing a partnership between disabled people, organizations, and academic research. Importantly, it provides an opportunity to redress traditional power imbalances that have cast disabled people outside of research design (Watson, 2012). Moving further beyond the participatory paradigm, some disability scholars have argued for a push towards emancipatory disability research. Unlike participatory methods which aim to work in partnership *with* disabled people, emancipatory research requires a shift away from traditional social relations of research production (Zarb, 1992). According to Stone and Priestley (1996: 711) emancipatory research seeks to ‘create an environment in which disabled people are empowering themselves’ and are at the forefront of decision-making. Moves towards this paradigm therefore demands that disabled people are not only included in the research, but actively involved in the lifespan of the project (Nind 2017).

There is a clearly a long way to go in enforcing emancipatory research as the typical practice within disability studies. Logistically, Watson (2012: 97) describes emancipatory research as ‘idealistic, ideological and programmatic.’ Similarly, Oliver (1997) proposes that rather than being a process one can simply ‘do,’ emancipatory research should be engaged with and aligned to. Indeed, while this project is not an example of emancipatory research, I have engaged with the values of this approach and sought to employ participatory methods where possible. Indeed, I have engaged with methods that have enabled me to work *with* disabled people in ways that value their contributions as valuable sources of knowledge. My approach to the project has been to enhance the opportunity for collaboration and communication between myself and research participants. These relational forms of communication are vital to promoting understanding and facilitating more empathetic and inclusive approaches to research (Schubotz, 2020).

Harnessing collaborative meaning-making has been fundamental to the design of this research. Evident in the fieldwork schedule (Appendix A), my approach to working with participants has been flexible and subject to change. I facilitated the workshops

with flexibility, each being slightly different in content, style, and time to best suit the needs and desires of participants. In addition, stage three of the research was an opportunity to explore emerging themes with participants in collaborative ways. Finally, I have continuously reflected upon my accountability to participants which has informed my approach to research dissemination. That is, I have sought to produce accessible versions of fieldwork reflections via an online blog, and have developed an accessible 'toolkit' that is available online.

The foundations of this research: ontology and epistemology

By listening to the stories of pain and resistance shared by participants, I have become emotionally invested in the topic of disability hate crime. Rather than shy away from the realities of hate crime, the way that I have been affected has fuelled my accountability to the research and all those involved. I have felt, in all stages of the research, part of a community that has been brought together by the commitment to challenge hate crime. It is to this community that I am forever indebted to, and that has shaped the ontological and epistemological 'footings' (Grix, 2010) of this research.

In order to explore the range of experiences and understandings of disability hate crime, working with disabled people has been vital. Indeed, for this research, 'people's knowledge, views, understandings, interpretations, experiences, and interactions are meaningful properties of social reality' (Mason, 1996: 39). In order to access these properties, this research has aligned to a constructivist ontology that focuses upon knowledge as it is constructed *by* and *with* social actors (Schutt, 2012). Our own constructions of knowledge represent different ways of being in the world, and the diversity of ways that we come to construct and make sense of social reality. Put by Denzin and Lincoln (2005: 24)

the constructivist paradigm assumes a relativist ontology (there are multiple realities), a subjectivist epistemology (knower and respondent cocreate understandings), and a naturalist (in the natural world) set of methodological procedures

In line with this, it is important to recognise that the understandings and experiences shared by participants are diverse, and reflect our ongoing interpretations with a

changing social world (Flick, 2014; Grix, 2010; Moses and Knutsen, 2012). By attending to knowledge as a forever-changing, complex phenomenon, I have explored how the meanings and understandings that we hold are always subject to the process of revision in relation to our interactions with those around us. From this perspective, the realities that are present within this research are understood to be constituted by their history, present, and future:

What goes on in an interview is not only the telling of experiences that have already happened (the narrated events) but also a narrative event in which identities are performed and produced (Lundgren, 2012: 671).

Following Lundgren, we can recognise and appreciate the fluidity of knowledge as it constitutes a multitude of evolving social realities.

Recognising the way in which our knowledge of social reality is both affected by, and affects our surrounding world is important when thinking about the movement of hate. In chapter three, I drew upon the work of Sara Ahmed in order to think about the ways in which hate comes to circulate among figures. Through its circulation, emotions become ‘stuck’ upon the surfaces of other bodies which can leave lasting impressions (Ahmed, 2014). These impressions occur within a particular time, space, and context, all of which shape the way that we are affected by these experiences, both in the present and future (Coleman, 2009). By following this understanding of hate, I have sought to highlight the role of *affect* when it comes to thinking about the range of ways that disabled people might experience, understand, reflect, and respond to their encounters of hate. We can come to know this knowledge, then, by engaging with people’s experiences as they represent different realities of hate crime and everyday hate. By attending to these experiences, understandings, and reflections, I am interested in knowledge as it is accomplished by social actors within their surrounding worlds.

As I have identified previously, this research attends to a gap in hate crime literature that privileges the lived realities and understandings of disabled people. The exclusion of experience is argued to limit the meaning and substance of research to the lives of those targeted by different forms of hate (Gelber & McNamara, 2016). Therefore, this

project is interested in the way in which people come to know through their experiences, reflections, and interactions. The interpretivist nature of this project reflects my own interest in how the social world is interpreted, experienced, and understood by individuals (Mason, 1996; Schutt, 2012). In order to attend to the ontological properties that this research is interested in, for example, people, experiences, and interactions, it is important to ‘interact with people, to talk to them, [and] to listen to them’ (Mason, 1996: 40). Thus, following Nind (2011, cited in Milner & Frawley, 2019), I believe that it is ‘epistemologically right’ to gain insight of ‘insider’ knowledge as a means of learning about the lived experiences of disabled people. I recognise the value of knowledge that is shared by disabled people, who are considered to be ‘experts by lived experience and agents of social change in their own right’ (Milner & Frawley, 2019: 383). That is, it is not in the scope or aim of this research to exact the specific temporal and spatial dimensions of hate experiences. Rather, I am interested in how disabled people come to understand their experiences of hate and how they are continually reflected upon and reconstructed as they navigate the changing social world around them.

While my research has sought to provide a platform for the voices of disabled people, the interpretive nature complicates the notion of independent authorship. I can never fully *know* what participants are sharing with me (Doucet & Mauthner, 2008) or how their experiences were (and still are) felt and negotiated. What I can offer, is an interpretation of knowledge as it is constructed by social actors, which continues to be interpreted at a number of levels by all those involved. Interpretation ‘involves carving out unacknowledged pieces of narrative evidence that we select, edit, and deploy to border our arguments’ (Fine, 2002: 218 cited in Braun and Clarke, 2006: 80). That is, the realities that participants describe represent their own (and my) ongoing process of reflection and reconstruction, all of which might be reconfigured within the spatial and temporal context of the research study. The multi-stage design of this research allows for reflection and reconstruction, as participants are invited to reflect upon their understandings throughout the process. At the same time, I have recognised that this data will continue to be reflected upon and re-made in the future, as it is interpreted by myself as the researcher and all others who read it. This project therefore does not seek to present definitive truths about what it can feel and be like

to experience hate, but rather, a temporally situated snapshot of how these realities come to *be* and are made sense of by all those who engage with them.

Research design & strategy

Sampling & recruitment

At the beginning of the fieldwork, I contacted a range of DPOs, peer-support groups and charities to seek their involvement in the project. Following ethical approval (to be discussed later in this chapter), I sought support from gatekeepers to help facilitate recruitment and ensure a safe and comfortable research environment. In total, I contacted 51 organizations who showed an interest in hate crime, disability, and/or the rights of marginalized communities. Many did not return my emails or telephone calls, while some showed interest in the project but were unable to provide support due to wider time constraints and commitments. Thus, in total I worked with the following six organizations based in England (Table one).

Table 1 Descriptions of Organizations

Organization	About the Organization
Organization 1	A charity that provides a day care service and training skills for people with cerebral palsy.
Organization 2	A self-advocacy group attached to a café that provides training and employment opportunity for members. The organization run a number of events within the community and offer a range of activities.
Organization 3	A membership organization led by and for people with learning disabilities. They are involved in community projects and lead training sessions based upon the premise of ‘experts by experience.’
Organization 4	A charity that works with people with learning disabilities and autism that provides 1-1 support, learning opportunities and peer-support groups. This project worked with a LGBTQ+ social group within the organization.

Organization 5	A disability peer support group that seek to offer support, share experiences, and provide access to training opportunities.
Organization 6	A user-led group who use their experiences and knowledge to raise awareness about the issues that matter to them. They offer training opportunities, a self-advocacy group, and seek to offer employment opportunities to members.

Building and maintaining collaborative relationships with gatekeepers was crucial to ensuring the flow of research (Turner & Almack, 2017). During early conversations with gatekeepers, I was keen to present my credibility as a researcher in addition to my passion for the project. Following initial interest, I met with members during one of their weekly meetings. This gave me the opportunity to explain the research project, answer questions, and get to know members on a more personal level. I was able to *be* in their space as an active participant rather than strictly researcher. In doing so, the way that I felt in the research space changed. The boundaries between ‘researcher’ and ‘researched’ became more fluid (Schubotz, 2020) and I felt more comfortable being led by participants. This preliminary meeting also allowed me to gain a sense of the group dynamics and consider the most appropriate ways of incorporating fieldwork into the general practice of the group. Following this initial meeting, I sought interest in the project and scheduled workshop dates.

A total of 71 disabled people took part in this research. Purposeful sampling was employed to invite participants from the six chosen organizations. The sample universe within these organizations was broad in order to account for a diverse range of experiences and understandings. In addition, I was cautious to maintain an inclusive approach that invited all individuals who identified as disabled, regardless of impairment type to take part in the research. Demographic information (shown in Appendix B) was collected from all participants, using a simple ‘about you’ form (Appendix C). To aid accessibility of these forms, I explained each question and most participants worked through these together, or with support from myself and gatekeepers. Most participants were happy to complete each of the questions and others exercised their right to not do so by not completing certain questions. For

example, not all participants provided their age category and many completed either 'gender identity' or 'sex,' rather than both.

In total, I worked with a much larger sample size than originally outlined. This was due to the nature of the groups that I was working with, as it was not possible to determine that number of members who would be available to participate on the day. Fortunately, the workshop setting allowed for this discrepancy and unpredictability of numbers by accommodating for a larger number of participants than typical focus groups might allow. Of this sample, 63 participants contributed to workshop discussions, and 20 took part in semi-structured interviews (12 of which were also involved with workshops). Following the first workshop, some participants expressed their desire to be involved with the interviews. In most cases, gatekeepers suggested participants who might be interested in taking part in the research due to their knowledge of previous hate encounters. Gatekeepers therefore had a crucial role in encouraging particular participants to be involved, as well as potentially blocking access to others (Dempsey et al, 2016; Nind, 2008). Having been guided by gatekeepers, I then invited these participants to interview with me. Interviews were scheduled to take place at their usual meeting place and time so as to avoid unnecessary inconvenience.

Stage 1: visual methods & workshops

In the first stage of the research, I held two workshops with each group of participants⁵. Workshops, as opposed to traditional focus groups, were employed as a means of enhancing the opportunity for collaboration and creativity between myself and participants. They allowed for greater participation and direction from participants and facilitated more organic observations of groups in action together. Located within the confines of their usual meeting space (for example, DPO's or support groups), workshops similarly helped to tap into the 'everyday' lives of participants by attending to the 'noise, randomness and interruptions' (Wood, 2014: 218). In doing so, the close group dynamic between participants also sought to reduce

⁵ For Organization three, these first 2 workshops were condensed into 1 slightly longer one due to their engagement with order projects which required a lot of their time and attention.

the power in-balance that typically exists between the researcher and researched (Jayasekara, 2012).

In the first workshop, participants created ‘mood-boards’ about their experiences and understandings of hate and/or hate crime. They were provided with a range of resources including newspapers, real-life magazines, TV guides, hate crime related posters, pens, pencils, and a word pack comprising of a range of terms relating to hate crime. The intentional broadness of this activity helped to create a workshop environment that was flexible rather than highly structured, as highlighted in my workshops schedule (Appendix A). Indeed, the workshops were guided by the very crafting of these mood-boards, and the accompanying dialogue between participants (Clark-Ibanez 2007). In this way, it was hoped that participants could use the activity as an opportunity to generate knowledge together as experts of their own experiences (Wang et al 2017).

Arts-based methods, also captured under the broader paradigm of creative methods (Kara 2015) can be understood as ‘research that uses the arts, in the broadest sense, to explore, understand, [and] represent’ human experience (Savin-Baden & Wimpenny 2014: 1). Given the complexity of social phenomenon, arts-methods are understood to support exploratory research inquiry (Wang et al. 2017). As a form of qualitative inquiry, arts-based methods have sought to explore the meanings that people give to their reality (Schutt 2012) in order to better understand the complexities of hate experiences. In this way, qualitative methods helped to draw attention to the complexities of social reality by unearthing additional uncertainties and perspectives (Wang et al. 2017). Moreover, the range of activities available can prompt participants to process their own understandings and meanings in diverse ways, and then present these in a form that goes beyond the written word (Tarr et al. 2018). In this way, arts-based methods unlock the potential of research to unearth and represent fluid ways of knowing and being in the world (Bartlett 2015; Wang et al. 2017).

By allowing for different means of knowledge presentation, workshops provided an opportunity for participants to author their own stories and trouble normative misconceptions about their lives (Richards et al 2019). The vulnerabilities associated with exposing our emotional work can provoke moments of resistance that are

fundamental to reclaiming experience and challenging hate crime. Indeed, in this research the mood boards that participants created were used as tools for reflection in the second workshop (Appendix A). Participants were asked to reflect upon their mood boards together, explain what they signified and draw connections between their experiences and understandings. In doing so, these activities facilitated educational encounters between participants, as we brought together the different meanings and experiences to inform a shared understanding of hate and hate crime.

Stage 2: semi-structured interviews

20 participants were invited to engage in semi-structured interviews lasting between 24 minutes and 1 hour and 45 minutes. These interviews provided an opportunity to build upon the themes that emerged throughout workshops, and allowed participants more control over the topics discussed. This flexible approach to interviewing was employed in order to capture an interview process that is both ‘dynamic’ and ‘iterative’ (Rubin & Rubin, 2005: 15). In this way, my approach to interviewing accounted for the way in which data is co-constructed and collaboratively generated between two social actors (Oakley, 1981). Moving away from an approach that objectifies participants as ‘epistemologically passive and mere vessels of data’ (Elliott, 2005: 22), I consciously opened up the interview to flow in the directions and avenues defined by participants (Shah, 2006). Indeed, the flexible nature of semi-structured interviewing marked an explicit move towards participatory research. In addition to this, it offered an exciting opportunity to explore previously unconsidered ideas (Petersen 2011). Indeed, while the workshops generated collaborative understandings and experiences, the interviews enabled more in-depth insights about how these incidents might play out, including how they are made sense of and negotiated. Following our first interview, a small number of participants were also invited to take part in a second interview which focused more upon their everyday routines. Whilst only eight participants were involved in these interviews due to time limitations, they nevertheless highlighted some interesting navigational strategies and routines that have been adopted, many of which will be discussed in chapters seven and eight.

Stage 3: collective reflections & workshops

The final workshop took place after an initial stage of coding, as will be described in the next section. Six concept maps were produced prior to each workshop, focusing

upon the following themes: understandings of hate; types of hate encounters; consequences of hate; locations of hate; explanations of why hate exists; and, approaches to challenging hate. These concept maps provided a basis for the final workshop by facilitating discussion around some of the identified themes and questions. During workshops, I was able to add to these concept maps based upon the discussions between participants which allowed me to generate a better understanding of those themes that were and were not significant (See Appendix D for an example concept map). The workshops were thereby driven by my own interpretation of the data generated to this point, and then re-interpreted by participants. Thus, throughout these workshops, we were able to come together to highlight potential areas of analytic importance that could be taken forward in the research. In doing so, I sought to gain a closer insight to the topics that were important to participants, rather than limit this to those that I had identified during earlier stages of coding.

These final workshops had a clear structure in the sense that the concept maps provided a framework for discussion. However, the practicality of conducting these workshops was largely unstructured and, in reality, fairly chaotic. Many of the ideas within the concept maps overlapped and required quick movement between them. For example, where participants commented upon ‘locations of hate,’ many simultaneously noted their understanding of what this encounter was, and how it made them feel.

Data processing and analysis

Due to the different types of datasets that were generated throughout the project, a range of processing strategies were employed. All of the mood boards were uploaded and described on Nvivo. This required a process of re-writing text directly, or describing the visual content included within the mood boards. In doing so, I had text-based data to accompany my analysis of these artefacts. Workshops and interviews were audio recorded and transcribed following ‘true verbatim’ style which documented ‘word-for-word’ reproduction of verbal data (Halcomb & Davidson, 2006). By adopting this approach, I attempted to recreate the dialogue as it was spoken in conversation between myself and participants (Hutchby & Woofitt 1998; Oliver et al. 2005). In practice, verbatim transcription was difficult to follow, particularly during workshops where a neat and uninterrupted recording was less likely. Indeed, as opposed to interview methods which typically involve two voices, the transcription

of numerous voices is more complex (Jayasekara, 2012). Other complications arose where particular voices were more dominant than others, or where there was a high volume of background noise. Furthermore, there were many behavioural and visual interactions that could not be recorded orally. Indeed, Greenwood et al (2017) note the one-dimensional nature of transcripts which result in the loss of tone of voice, body language, seating arrangement and other types of participant behaviours. To attempt to overcome these issues, I dedicated longer periods of time to transcription and used software to slow the recordings down as I transcribed.

Following Braun and Clarke's (2006) 'phases of thematic analysis,' the coding of text-based data sought to organize and reflect upon potential themes and points of discussion. In table two I show how I have followed these phrases, and how I have adapted them to better suit my engagement with data.

Table 2 Phases of Thematic Analysis

Phase	Description of the process
1 Familiarize yourself with the data:	a; Transcribe data, read & re-read data & note down initial ideas
	b; Interpret the data to reflect upon how you make sense of the data
2 Generate initial codes:	Code interesting features of the data across the entire data set (data set for each stage of research)
3 Search for themes:	Collate codes into potential themes
4 Review themes:	Reflect upon how these themes work with the coded extracts and entire dataset overall
5 Define and name themes:	Refine the specifics of each theme via ongoing analysis; ask what overall story the analysis is telling
6 Produce the report	Select extracts that relate back to the research questions, literature, and overall trajectory of the dataset

In phase 1a, literal reading enabled me to broadly consider the dialogue and terminologies presented in the data, recognise words and themes that relate to the research questions, and identify any reoccurring topics (Mason, 1996). In this stage, I familiarised myself with the dataset and noted initial ideas (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Developing this, phase 1b, interpretive reading, required a more reflective reading of

how I was making meaning of the data. Once I had conducted the first set of workshops, I produced a loose and flexible coding framework to help organize my reading of the data. Following phases two and three, preliminary codes were established, in relation to my own reading as well as prominent discussion points within the data. In this sense, coding categories were both inductively and thematically constructed (Braun and Clarke, 2006). For example, I expected to generate data relating to ‘examples of hate experiences’ and as such, had initially established this as a parent code. In phase four and five, I coded data using the software analysis system, Nvivo, and established a range of parent and child nodes (Appendix E). Parent nodes were a broader categorisation of a theme, for example, ‘spaces of hate’ included child nodes such as ‘schools’ and ‘public transport.’ These nodes were both literal and conceptual. For example, ‘spaces of hate’ enabled me to code literal examples of the different spaces that participants had experienced, or anticipated to experience, hate. Other nodes were conceptual in nature. The parent code, for example, ‘consequences of hate’ enabled me to think about the intricate ways that bodies were shaped by these literal experiences, thus taking into account the changing affective capacities of bodies in relation to their experiences.

The different nature of codes reflects the layering of my research questions. Literal reading of data can provide a descriptive insight to the types of experiences, understandings or navigational strategies adopted by participants. Developing beyond this, however, I was interested in attending to the latent level of data, which required an examination of the *underlying* themes, assumptions and conceptualizations that shape the meaning of data (Braun and Clarke, 2006). My theorization of data, in accordance to the fluid nature of social reality, is thus subject to ongoing interpretation and construction. In this way, all of the codes were continually revised and re-interpreted. The data did not, and still does not, represent tidy and rigid variables of analysis, but ‘unfinished’ categories (Mason, 1996) that shift according to the ongoing process of meaning-making and interpretation well beyond the submission of this thesis. The fluidity of coding categories also enabled an exploratory reading of the transcripts on a case-by-case basis, rather than applying rigid labels to categories too soon (See Grbich, 2013). In this way, I sought to prevent the exclusion of potentially significant themes by continuing to revise and rethink coding categories as I moved between each new transcript and the dataset as a whole.

Thematic analysis guided my analytical framework by asking about how data spoke to the initial research questions. Moreover, thematic analysis asked new questions of the research, focusing upon the codes that had gained significance throughout the research process. Thematic analysis was chosen due to the ‘theoretical freedom’ that it enables by providing a ‘flexible and useful research tool, which can potentially provide a rich and detailed, yet complex, account of data’ (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 78). The nature of the themes that were chosen also represent the diversity inherent within the generated dataset. In line with the ontological and epistemological assumptions previously outlined, my approach to thematic analysis does not suggest universal meanings, but demonstrates a range of meanings that are tied to their surrounding context (Braun, Clarke and Hayfield, 2015). As I explore throughout the following chapters of analysis, there is no single or neat story about the way that experiences of hate come to be lived, felt, reflected upon, and responded to. Therefore, the development of themes did not seek to compartmentalise people’s experiences into closed and rigid categories, but to appreciate the tensions and nuances within. That is, these themes offered a starting point for analytically appreciating and accounting for the uncertainty of this diversity.

Upon identifying, debating, and analysing themes as a collective, the final workshop also provided the opportunity to think more about the relationship between communities and academia. In doing so, we were able to identify possible ways that research might work with disabled people in the community in order to challenge and disrupt some of the issues revealed by the workshops. Following the workshops, I re-read much of the data and re-thought many thematic categories as a result. My engagement with the data in this way, moving within and between coding categories and themes, reflects the organic nature of thematic analysis. Employed in this way, thematic analysis allowed for the development of codes and themes that is ‘informed by the unique standpoint of the researcher, and that is fluid, flexible and responsive to the researcher’s evolving engagement with their data’ (Braun, Clarke and Hayfield, 2013: 223). Continuing engagement with research data was not limited to the coding process, but was also evident in the way that I was reading, and thereby, interpreting the mood-boards produced by participants. Indeed, whilst the level of literal transcribing completed initially was useful in developing familiarity with the many

artefacts that had been produced, the way in which I interpreted these mood-boards remained subjective. That is, I considered how I was *perceiving* the mood-boards produced by participants, and how this was culturally, geographically, socially, and historically situated (Rose, 2001).

As I have described, I produced six concept maps following my preliminary reading of data. Once the final workshops had also been transcribed, I revisited these six codes and condensed them to four prevalent themes, which best supported an exploration of hate is understood, lived, felt, and resisted by disabled people:

Theme 1: conceptual discrepancies & ambiguities

Theme 2: geographies of hate

Theme 3: harms of hate

Theme 4: strategies for resisting and navigating hate

Phases four and five of thematic analysis involved rethinking the different codes with participants and categorising them into themes. Whilst the concept maps are particularly useful in visualizing codes as they are interacted with, my use of this method similarly sought to invite analytic contributions from participants. In doing so, it encouraged me to reflect upon how I was positioned within, and also positioned the research process. Moreover, it enabled me to consider the types of codes that I had anticipated as being significant, as well as those that had been recognised through the research. Overall, four over-arching themes of analysis were established, each with more specific categories of thought within. The following chapters of analysis open up these themes to analytic inquiry, and consider the following: understandings of hate, geographies of hate, harms of hate, and challenging hate. These four themes present an analytical map of the way in which data has been structured in the analysis chapters.

Chapter five analyses the way that individuals conceptualise hate crime, and make sense of their own experiences in relation to this. Chapter six outlines a geography of hate crime, sharing a range of experiences of hate with different social and private spaces. Next, chapter seven describes the different ways that experiences of hate had come to harm individuals, both in terms of their psycho-emotional wellbeing and

understanding of themselves with surrounding spaces. Finally, chapter eight shares the different strategies developed by participant to support their negotiation of the social world. This chapter opens up conversations about the different types of affective practices that are employed within everyday life and moves to consider the potential for collective resistance and collaboration. These chapters are weaved together by the thematic thread of hate; how it is understood, experienced, felt, and resisted in the lives of disabled people. In this way, the individual chapters can be said to come together to construct a narrative of disability hate and disability hate crime that encompasses a multiplicity of meanings, realities, and experiences that can not be neatly pieced together.

Ethical considerations

Planning, designing, and conducting research requires ongoing consideration of our ethical obligations and responsibilities as researchers. Research is, according to Sherlock and Thynne (2010: 1) an activity that ‘is fraught with ethical and moral decisions at every stage.’ Thus, while I gained ethical approval in August 2018 (See Appendix F for review and approval) ethical consideration has been ongoing and underpinned many of the methodological decisions taken. By engaging with ethics, I have sought to create a safe and comfortable research environment that can be used as a platform for disabled people to share their experiences. In the following section, I reflect upon some of these ethical decisions, and demonstrate how I have brought these together with the ontological and epistemological foundations of the research. In doing so, I consider the emotional connections and responses that have been forged throughout the process, the incorporation of informed consent into the research process, navigations of anonymity and confidentiality, and the importance of researcher reflexivity when doing disability research.

Emotional connections

Hate crime is a challenging topic to research on all levels of engagement. Researching personal stories about hate crime is particularly sensitive, as it requires a more intimate engagement with the experiences of those targeted, and the ways in which they are affected by these. Thus, although reflection upon our experiences can and did offer cathartic benefits, it also carried the risk of emotional harm (Philaretou & Allen 2005). By revisiting upsetting experiences and reflecting upon them, I was conscious

of re-opening the ‘wounds’ of participants (Lieblich, 1996 cited in Elliott, 2005). During the project, there were times where participants did become upset having shared particularly difficult moments from their lives. In these moments, the crafting and sharing of personal stories about hate experiences became fractured, and we were brought together as a group to support one another. We were made aware of our own vulnerabilities and encouraged to ‘go to uncharted places, and rethink ourselves in relation to others and the world’ (Rice and Mündel 2018: 224). These vulnerabilities fostered an environment shaped by the ways in which we affected one another (Shaw et al. 2019). In doing so, I believe that the engagement with our emotions ‘provide[d] a catalyst for learning beyond traditional, cognitive ways of knowing’ (Vaart et al, 2019). Indeed, when we engage with our emotions, we reflect upon how particular situations, our relationships with others, and our surroundings make us feel, behave, and therefore, *be*.

Arguably, then, emotions are a fundamental addition to cognition and intellect which enables us to ‘know’ (Holland, 2007). Emotional relations help us to access different kinds of ‘knowing’ that are not visible to the objective viewer. As Hubbard et al (2001: 126) describe:

Knowledge is not something objective and removed from our bodies, experiences and emotions but is created through our experiences of the world as a sensuous and affective activity

Engagement with knowledge that is intimate, personal, and sensitive elicits emotional reactions (Johnson, 2005). During workshops and interviews, our emotional reactions to one another created a sense of comfort and support that required continuous engagement with emotion work and empathy (Holland 2007). As the researcher, I was affected by participants regularly. I felt a kaleidoscope of emotions as I sought to make sense of the stories shared. I felt anger towards those who had committed these hate incidents. Although strangers, these figures became known to me as causing the pains that participants had endured. I came to know these strangers, then, as sites of blame and anger which was difficult to make sense of. I also regularly felt upset, both for those individuals who had experienced hate, but also more generally towards the climate of hostility that has been fostered over recent years. At times, I became tired

by the physical and emotional toll of completing fieldwork. I often felt numb to my surroundings, yet distinctly close to the stories that had been shared. Yet, in other moments, participants made me feel optimistic and grateful through the stories that participants shared, their relationships, and their sense of community which offered an alternative narrative to oppression.

The emotions and feelings that I have shared above were not solely experienced by me, but also *by* and *between* participants. Whilst there is no means of determining our unique relationships with the emotions that were in circulation (Ahmed, 2014), I felt the stickiness of love, support and community between us. Where participants became upset, other members were keen to offer support and reassurance. This strength of collectivity was key to creating a safe space for the sensitivities of this research, and accounted for the ability of all individuals to continue in the project. While a small number of participants left the workshop space momentarily, for a drink or fresh air, all returned to the support of their peers. Importantly, these affective responses are not something that can be extensively anticipated through systematic planning, but instead nurtured through the use of flexible research methods and safe research spaces. The ability to make these ethical decisions in practice are crucial considering the natural unpredictability of research (Tolich, 2014).

I was driven towards arts-based methods as a means of opening up difficult discussions about hate crime in sensitive, flexible, and relaxed ways (Rice and Mundel 2018; Vaart and Hoven). According to Pink (2012: 7) ‘the visual becomes a way of arriving at particular types and layers of knowledge.’ Importantly, by engaging with visual methodologies, it enables us to access knowledge as we affect and are affected by it. Therefore, by asking participants to access these experiences through their use of arts, I sought to sensitively prompt engagement with their emotions, as they revisited and pieced these particular events together in new ways. By producing these stories, participants could share their knowledge and make new discoveries about their place in the world (Rice & Mundel 2018).

The discovery of new knowledge about ourselves can require negotiation and attention, particularly if this discovery is not anticipated. For example, when reflecting upon their weekly routines, one participant appeared to ‘discover’ their lack of social

interaction with other people in their community. During this particular moment of discovery, I allowed for an extended period of silence whilst maintaining a reassuring smile. In doing so, I sought to employ strategies that enabled this participant ‘to express, address, or manage their emotions and, in doing so, to regain a sense of personal control’ (Mitchell & Irvine, 2008: 36). Upon finishing the interview, I also provided contact details of local disabled people’s peer-support groups and organizations.

Making consent accessible

Informed consent ensures the clarity of the proposed research so that participants are able to make an informed decision regarding their participation. Outlined by the Social Research Association (2003: 28) informed consent ensures that ‘research participants understand what is being done to them, the limits to their participation and awareness of any potential risks they incur.’ Informed consent in this research included a range of statements that participants were able to consent to, or not (Appendix G). To aide this process, I also shared an accessible ‘information sheet’ (Appendix H) with participants, and invited discussion around this. In addition, I ensured that participants were clear about their right to withdraw from the research project, with the limitation of withdrawing data after September 2019 to account for analysing and writing up the findings.

Informed consent provides an opportunity for research to be thoroughly explained and discussed with participants. By engaging with the process of informed consent on a regular basis, it supported me to think about the way in which participants were involved with the research and how they were responding to particular questions and topics. There were, however, complications arising from informed consent due to the focus upon ‘ability’ and ‘capacity.’ For example, ethical guidelines produced by the Economic and Social Research Council (2015: 27-28), to which this research has been funded, state that participants must demonstrate their ‘capacity to understand the consequences (and risks) of participating in order to give valid consent.’ And, while the Adults with Incapacity Act states that a lack of capacity should not be assumed by the presence of learning difficulties (Department for Constitutional Affairs, 2007), practice surrounding this is contentious. For example, Carey and Griffiths (2017) and Fisher (2012) argue that many people with learning difficulties are excluded from the research process based upon their perceived lack of capacity and/or vulnerability.

Indeed, quite often, the commitment to protect participants from harm can impede their right to participate (Guillemin and Gillam, 2004; Sanjari et al, 2014). Thus, whilst I was committed to ensuring that engagement with the research was not going to harm individuals, I was equally committed to thinking about the ways that I could provide an accessible, welcoming, and safe space to explore sensitive topics.

Whilst problematizing the ableist nature of informed consent is important, engagement with this process is necessary to ensure the rights of participants are clearly expressed and understood. Following the work of others (See Carey and Griffiths, 2017; Fisher, 2012), I shifted my focus away from individual ‘capacity’ and to the ways that I could adapt the process of informed consent so that it was more accessible. Thus, I incorporated initial informed consent as an opportunity to meet with potential participants, seek their guidance on the project, and consider the most suitable way of working with one another. As I have detailed earlier in this chapter, I met with participants in their own group space and engaged with their typical activities. I used the online tool ‘easy on the I’ to create a more accessible information sheet (Appendix H), which explained the aims of the research, participant involvement, as well as additional information about key words and terms used. In addition to this, I negotiated consent on an ongoing basis with participants to ensure that they felt comfortable in their right to be or not to be involved, and the extent to which this involvement took shape. This negotiation was apparent where participants exercised their right not to answer certain questions or by moving the conversation to consider alternative topics of discussion (Mitchell & Irvine, 2008). In this way, informed consent became part of the research process, rather than a rigidly applied exercise.

Confidentiality and Anonymity

In accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998, digital data was stored on the University’s z drive, and physical copies of data kept in a locked drawer on university campus. ⁶Once transcribed, all audio recordings were deleted. These measures were put into place in order to uphold the confidentiality of data shared by participants. The

⁶ The mood-boards produced by participants have not been subject to this rigor due to the multiple purposes that they have in the research. However, they have been anonymised and do not contain photographs of participants.

operationalization of confidentiality within research is subject to context and individual circumstance. Indeed, while it is unfavourable for researchers to break confidentiality, there are instances where the moral duty to protect participants might warrant the sharing of information to the appropriate people (Wiles et al, 2008). In order to remain open and honest in the research process, then, I explained the concept of confidentiality to participants, including potential limitations to this, such as the potential risk or immediate harm to participants. In the majority of cases, there was no need to re-assess confidentiality, but one case did require some reflection due to the presence of risk. During the interview, they described their distress at an ongoing hate incident, so I suggested that the participant communicate their concerns with a trusted member of staff. Fortunately, they agreed that this incident should be shared outside of the interview, and we communicated the incident with a member of staff once the interview had finished. In this case, then, I was able to navigate the limitations of confidentiality directly with the participant to uphold my duty to protection against harm and their agency.

The nature of this research also created ethical dilemmas regarding the way in which participants would be anonymised and therefore, protected from recognition outside of the project. Many of the incidents that participants discussed had not been reported to police, and there was no guarantee that participants would be protected against hate incidents happening in the future. This was particularly important in cases where perpetrators were friends, families, and carers. Therefore, all participants were asked to choose their own 'research name' which would be used in the project. In addition, the six organizations that I worked with have been anonymised. During coding, I was cautious to avoid naming specific locations and considered the depth of description used when describing participants' experiences. No names of individuals outside of the research project were included in the transcript.

Participants responded differently to the requirement for anonymity. Many participants were happy to choose a different name while others preferred to be assigned one. While a small number asked to use their own name, I explained my ethical obligations surrounding this, and they were happy to continue under the anonymity of a research name. However, the tensions that arose were difficult to navigate, particularly in relation to the control that I, as the researcher, ultimately had

over these decisions which directly contradicted a participatory approach to doing research (Wiles et al, 2006). I am not alone in these experiences of discomfort arising from this. Indeed, the enforcement of pseudonyms has been increasingly criticised as a form of ‘silencing’ (Pickering and Kara, 2017) particularly when participants want to be named and have their stories shared (National Disability Authority, 2009; Wiles et al, 2006). Moreover, there is a significant degree of empowerment involved with obtaining authorship over prior experiences of oppression. The decision to enforce alternative research names, was therefore a difficult decision, but ultimately the most appropriate in order to ensure that participants were not recognisable outside of the research project.

Dissemination of research

The opportunity for flexible engagement with research should continue beyond the life journey of a research project (Baarts 2009). Making research accessible is an important responsibility that can be achieved through the production of various types of dissemination. This is fundamental for those working in the field of disability studies, as Garbutt (2009: 363; See also Aldridge 2007) argues:

Ultimately, if the participants of research are denied access to the final product of the research then, ethically, this brings up questions around power and exploitation by the researcher of the researched, which goes against the emancipatory model of working

Put simply, if knowledge is not shared within the community or those the research is relevant to, we are limiting the potential impact of research to the lived experiences of disabled people. Arts-based methods have provided me with the opportunity to think about research dissemination differently. The mood-boards created by participants are not only rich artefacts with analytic purpose, but unique presentations of knowledge that can be used to share the diverse stories and understandings of hate crime. These artefacts not only represent processes of meaning-making during research, but the opportunity for this meaning-making to transcend beyond the scope of the research process. As Rose (2001: 16; original emphasis) explains:

There are three *sites* at which the meanings of an image are made: the site(s) of the *production* of an image, the site of the *image* itself, and the site(s) where it is seen by various *audiences*

The process of meaning-making that the creation of mood-boards allowed is reproduced and reconstructed in every subsequent engagement. Mood-boards offer a different way of accessing the topic of hate crime, and an opportunity to interpret these social realities in unique ways. While it is not possible to control or predict the way that these artefacts will be interpreted, it presents an opportunity for greater public awareness of hate crime that is directed by the work of disabled people. Mood-boards are therefore suggested to be an extension of the research process made possible via participatory methods. Such an approach

Is not merely to describe and interpret social reality, but to radically change it' and, furthermore, 'the intent is to transform reality "with" rather than "for oppressed people (Maguire, 1987: 29).

In this way, the artefacts have the potential to disrupt normative ways of thinking about disability, and alter the societal avoidance towards the realities of hate crime. It provides a means of opening up sensitive conversations in more accessible and nurturing ways.

Limitations of the research methods

This research has sought greater engagement with the ways in which disabled people understand, experience, and respond to the incidents of hate that are directed towards them. My research strategy has centred the stories of disabled people, and provided the opportunity to construct knowledge in creative and collaborative ways. In many ways, this research has been successful in meeting the research aims and objectives. However, there are limitations that should also be considered when reflecting upon what this research can contribute to the surrounding literature, and to understanding the everyday realities of disabled people. Notably, these limitations relate to my own researcher positionality in the project, including the extent to which power relations were negotiated and managed, in addition to the practicalities of doing sensitive research.

Power relations

Whilst my own position as a non-disabled researcher was not challenged by participants, I am still aware that my presence as a 'researcher' may have impacted the way in which participants responded to tasks and conversations. For example, some participants asked about whether their mood-boards were 'right' and others apologised if they felt they had 'gone off' topic. While I reassured participants that there was no 'right answer,' these instances reminded me that my presence might still be perceived as authoritarian, or 'teacher like.' Indeed, it raised the concern that participants were engaging in the ways that they believed I was looking for. From this perspective, the artefacts produced by participants are not suggested to have been constructed within a vacuum, but are based upon the background of that person as well as 'the power relations that surround them' (Mannay, 2016: 46). That is, the mood-boards are not solely individual creations, but creations that are made possible through the socially and culturally rich contexts that are created within.

More practically, I provided support to some participants with tasks like writing and cutting so that they could construct their mood-boards. Arts-based methods allow for these collaborative ways of working, and should not be considered as a limitation of authorship. Moreover, our collaborative art-practices might also open up different ways of bringing disability research and the arts together. As PhD student Anne-Marie Atkinson (2020, no p.n) has argued in relation to her own practices:

Socially engaged and collaborative art and critical disability studies find shared ground in the practice of artists with learning disabilities. People with learning disabilities disrupt the privileging of independence and autonomy and instead utilise interdependence, dispersed competencies, and relational contingency

From this perspective, these collaborative methods are an opportunity for thinking differently about the production of artefacts. What is important when pursuing these collaborative approaches, is a reflection upon how collaboration takes place and who is in control of the decision-making process.

In addition to my own position, it is important to consider how the location of workshops might have influenced the way in which participants worked together and the direction and scope of our discussions. To ensure a supportive environment, all fieldwork was conducted within the parameters of the group's usual meeting space. In most cases, this meant that staff from the organizations would also help with the workshops, providing support to participants and posing questions to encourage conversations. In many cases, this additional support helped to ensure that many participants who might traditionally be excluded from the process were able to participate. Yet, this also created some explicit power relations between staff and members, particularly where staff came to dominate the discussions, or moved the conversations in particular directions. This was apparent where staff members directed specific questions towards certain members in order to elicit desired responses. Upon reflection, I also felt the difference between workshops where staff were heavily involved and those where they were not. In my fieldwork notes, for example, I commented upon my own sense of discomfort and fear of being 'judged' by staff whilst running the workshops. In particular, I felt conflicted between the desire to be seen by members of staff as adequate and in control of the workshop activities, whilst simultaneously seeking to simply 'facilitate' rather than tightly manage the workshop.

Practical difficulties

As I have noted above, my sample was significantly larger than I had originally planned for. While many participants were involved in all three workshops, there were a number of participants who only engaged with one, or two of these. In terms of ensuring my ethical responsibilities, all participants were briefed on the research and asked to complete the informed consent form. Ethically, then, the ambiguous nature of participation was managed with little practical difficulties. However, the changing flow of participants did make it more difficult to get to know individuals on a more personal basis, and ensure that they felt comfortable getting involved. This became apparent during the process of transcribing, where I noticed that dominant voices within workshops tended to be those who had more prolonged involvement with the project.

In addition to the changing sample size, the location of workshops created some difficulty in my ability to capture dialogue and engage with all participants

simultaneously. As I have noted already, there were instances where the audio recording was not clear enough to transcribe, or had been distorted by background noise. Conversations were ongoing throughout the workshops, yet, my ability to record these discussions were limited to where the audio recorder was in the room. I kept the audio recorder with me at all times, and therefore recorded conversations that I was engaged with, or close to. My technique of recording data was therefore limited to verbal elements in a close enough proximity to the device, and to me. There were, as a result, many conversations that I was unable to capture ‘literally’ as well as a myriad of visual cues bodily interactions. That is, data transcripts are not direct representations of the interview, they are ‘decontextualized conversations’ or ‘abstractions’ from the original context within which they have arrived (Kvale 1996). Transcripts can only ever be, therefore, a compromise to the impossible task of capturing the total meaning within the discussion (Elliott 2005). Whilst mood boards can not account for this compromise, they do enable different means of accessing these discussions that do not rely on the spoken or written word.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have outlined the way in which this research has been designed and conducted, and presented methodological justifications for the decisions that have been made. Being explicit about these underlying assumptions and choices is to also acknowledge the contribution of knowledge that this research offers. The knowledge that this project presents is subjective in nature, and can therefore provide unique insights to the way in which hate can be experienced, felt, and responded to by disabled people. It presents rich, in-depth reflections about hateful encounters, and explores the way in which such incidents impress upon individuals within the context of their everyday life. Thus, the following findings can not address questions that seek to quantify hate incidents amongst widespread populations, or those that seek to discursively analyse the current legislation tackling hate crime. What it can offer, are reflections and explorations about the everyday nature of hate, and the different impacts that this can have. In doing so, it addresses a literature gap that privileges an understanding of hate as it is situated within the everyday lives of disabled people.

In the following chapters of analysis, I move to a more critical examination of the way in which hate circulates within the everyday lives of disabled people, and reflect upon

how this circulation moves and impresses upon participants. To begin, chapter five looks at the ways that participants have come to make sense of 'hate' as it relates to their own experiences. In doing so, I contribute to ongoing academic debate concerning the definition and meaning of hate and hate crime. Next, chapter six focuses upon experiences of hate in relation to their spatiality and temporality. I consider the different spaces where hate is perceived to be more intense which constitutes certain spaces as particularly risky. The risks that participants describe can be understood as the consequences of being denied residency to normatively configured social dwellings. Chapter seven explores how participants are impressed upon thereby reconstituting how bodies move in and through these different spaces. In this chapter, I consider some of the more intimate harms of hate as it comes to shape not only how individuals come to occupy their surrounding space, but also how they see themselves as Other. This draws attention to how experiences of hate can come to limit the affective capacities of bodies. Chapter eight continues a focus upon affect to recognise the many ways that participants navigate and manage their experiences of hate. Indeed, this chapter calls attention to the unique knowledge that can be gained through the process of marginalization and othering. Moving from the individual to the collective body, I explore the different ways that impressions of hate come to be navigated and indeed, resisted within the everyday practices of disabled people. What is more, I reflect upon how greater collaboration between academia and disabled people can work towards harnessing these capacities.

Chapter 5

Understanding and debating the concept of ‘hate crime’

In this opening chapter of analysis, I reconsider foundational debates concerning the meaning of hate crime as it is understood within the everyday lives of disabled people. As I presented in chapters two and three, the concept of hate crime has been subject to ongoing debate in the pursuit to develop a more consistent definition. These critical conversations have been fruitful to developing discussion and raising awareness of the issue of hate crime. However, they have also been fraught with contradictions, disagreements, and complexities as the myriad of disciplinary agendas, values, and time-frames have been in friction with one another. To revisit the words of Chakraborti (2016: 580), ongoing debate and scrutiny have resulted in a concept of hate crime that is ‘too complex, too ethereal, and too detached from the everyday realities’ of those targeted. The argument here, and one of the central premises of this thesis, is that too much academic discussion has reduced the relevance of the term in practice. Thus, this opening chapter of analysis positions the conceptualisations offered by participants throughout this research at the forefront. Direct quotes are written in italics, in order to further emphasize their significance.

Making sense of hate: ‘*I do think the name of it sounds a bit off-putting*’

As academically rigorous a concept may be, its usability depends upon how it translates to the experiences of those outside of the walls of academia. As Doria Skadinski explained, ‘*Academics can’t decide. You can’t tell me what a hate crime is, it’s my personal experience.*’ In order to respond to the disconnect between academia, policy, and reality, this opening chapter of analysis re-conceptualises hate crime by engaging with participants’ own understandings. These personal accounts offer a starting point for rethinking what hate crime means within the context of everyday life. The opportunity to rethink hate crime through experience was supported by most, if not all participants in order to address the ambiguity and disconnect to their own experiences. For example, Elvis and Sinead described hate as both a ‘*fuzzy*’ and ‘*off-putting*’ term. To compensate for this, many participants adopted a range of alternative words and descriptions to share their experiences, and to reflect upon the unique and personal ways that hate was understood, experienced, and felt for them. In the

following section, I consider these alternative terms more closely, particularly in relation to how they interact with academic debates. For example, ideas relating to practices of ‘doing difference’ (Perry, 2001) were placed at the centre of many of the understandings shared by participants. In particular, participants highlighted the context that hate occurs within, with many drawing upon instances of strain or the competition of resources. As I outline in this chapter, many of these conceptualisations draw attention to the way that some ‘figures’ surface together as a body deserving of hate, as opposed to the majority ‘us.’ Aligning to Ahmed’s ‘circulation of hate,’ this chapter conceptualises hate crime as a mechanism or a tool that serves to sculpt and sustain the borders between figures.

Developing this further, I consider some of the explanations that participants provided to explain which figures were more likely to be targeted by hate crime, and why. By unpacking potential motivations, participants offered a range of explanations as to why they, and other disabled people, were so often made subject to hate. For many participants, perceptions of vulnerability were noted as a key motive, describing themselves and others as ‘*easy prey*’ who could be manipulated by others. Thus, I consider key debates between the fight for recognising vulnerability as an explanation for who hate crime targets, as well as those competing discussions that challenge the individual positioning of vulnerability. This debate will be further explored in chapter seven as I consider how these experiences can come to *impress* upon individuals, and therefore reinforce the internalisation of perceived vulnerability. Moreover, this chapter closes with an exploration of the concept of intersectionality as it arose within the reflections of participants. Such an approach does not seek to homogenise experience, or create boundaries between identity categories, but acts as a useful reminder of the uniquely situated contexts that hate crime is understood and experienced within. As Hollomotz (2012) suggests, our perceptions of violence are socially constructed, and depend upon our unique historical and cultural backgrounds. How we make sense of these violent intrusions is equally dependent upon this background, which relies heavily upon how we identify ourselves.

The aim of this first analysis chapter is to map out the conceptual understandings of hate crime that participants have shared throughout the research process. It provides

experiences and descriptors with more confidence. For example, when describing their experiences of ‘bullying,’ participants reflected upon being teased, taunted, and having the mickey taken out of them (Elvis; Paul). A significant number of participants shared experiences of being bullied when out in public, which often included being ‘mocked,’ laughed at and stared at (Heather; Joe; Mickey; Pete; Sabrina; Violet). Being stared at was a particularly common experience of bullying, and was present on a number of mood-boards. Most notably, Violet’s mood board featured three visual examples to highlight the impact of staring in her own life, which ‘*happens daily.*’ As shown in Figure two the main feature is a photograph of a tiger staring intensely forward with the words ‘ADULTS STARING’ above. In addition, Violet has included photographs of two men staring closely at one another, as well as a male and female figure staring forwards.



Figure 2 Violet

While participants presented a variety of terminology to describe their own experiences, they are all brought together by the underlying sense of hostility that is directed towards them. Indeed, when asked to describe ‘hate crime,’ Sabrina explained that it was ‘*all of these nasty things*’ that happen to many disabled people within the context of their everyday lives.

Aside from bullying, ‘abuse’ was commonly referred to when participants described and reflected upon their experiences of hate crime. Indeed, ‘abusive’ was the second

most coded term with 111 counts (including variants such as abuse, abused, abuses, abusing.’ While some participants spoke about abuse as a term on its own, the majority of participants used this term when describing different forms of violence, including physical (13 counts), verbal (29 counts), emotional (two counts), and sexual (22 counts). In this way, the terming of abuse is suggested to be particularly useful for participants, due to the familiarity of the concept and application to various types of violence. Indeed, when thinking about ‘abuse’ participants brought into the discussion a whole host of alternative terms to describe their own experiences and understandings. Hate crime, following the discussions on abuse, included a range of physical examples, such as being beaten up (Harry; Sinead), hit (Jenny; Joyce; Michael), kicked (Elvis; Mary), being attacked (Aaron Presley; John; Kelly-Marie; Lisa; Michael P; Tony), and having stones thrown at you (Sabrina). While verbal abuse was coded a total of 29 times within this category (what is hate), alternative articulations of this included name-calling and calling people names (Aaron Presley; Billy; Caitlin; Delboy; Gordon; Jim; John; Michael P; Richard Jackson; Robbie). Verbal abuse in particular generated much discussion during the workshops, with almost all participants sharing examples of names that they had been called. Some participants used these examples of verbal abuse when creating their mood boards. For example, Andrew included ‘fat,’ ‘tramp,’ and ‘weird’ (Figure three Andrew) and Michael P wrote ‘loony,’ ‘spastic,’ ‘froggy,’ ‘the “n” word,’ and ‘cross-eyed.’



Figure 3 Andrew

These findings suggest that by tapping into participants existing vocabulary such as ‘bullying’ and ‘abuse,’ it is possible to provide a more accessible framework for

making sense of the many different types of violence that are encompassed within the wider concept of hate crime.

Other frequently used terms relating to discrimination, threatening behaviour, and manipulation. Again, this language used by participants as a means of describing the range of behaviours and encounters that they related to their own broader understanding of hate crime. For example, Doria Skadinski discussed experiences of exclusion and ignorance as forms of discrimination towards her, and Robbie reflected upon the long-standing 'unfavourable' treatment of people with learning difficulties. In particular, Robbie and a number of other participants referred to incidents of threatening behaviour and manipulation by people close to them. Threatening behaviour was considered to be a means of maintaining manipulative and exploitive relationships with them, which often involved the transaction of money and personal belongings, and the preservation of power inequalities. For example, both Fifi and Joyce described feeling 'trapped' within abusive relationships with their ex-partners. In addition to their conversations about this, this was evident in both of their mood boards (See figure four), which included phrases such as 'take over' and 'tell me what to do' (Joyce) and 'bossing' and 'take over my home' (Fifi).

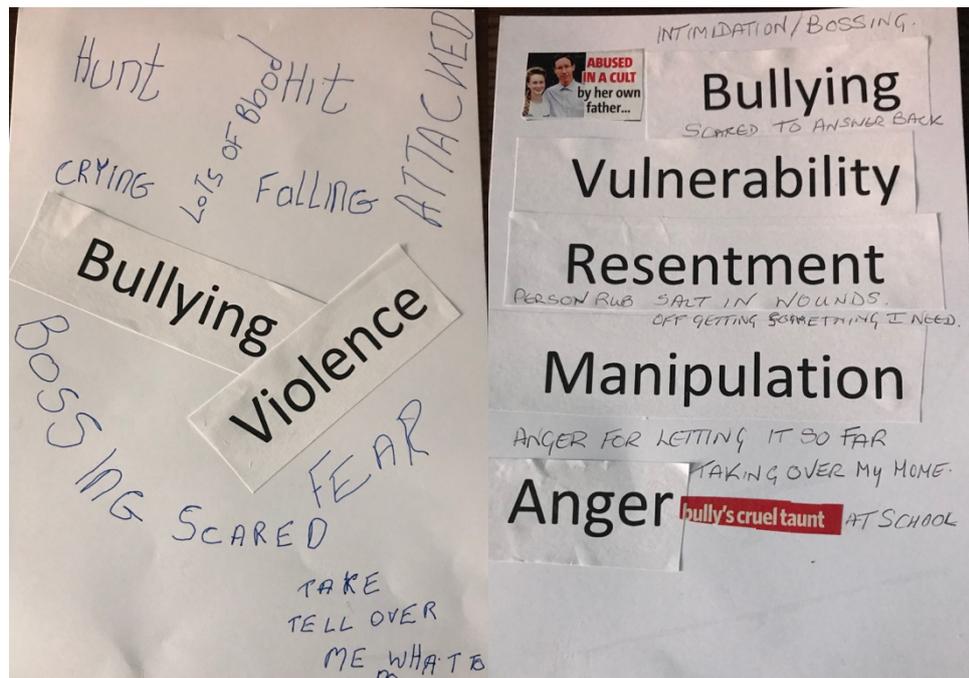


Figure 4 Joyce (left) and Fifi (right)

Some participants, particularly those who were affiliated with an organization or peer-support group, referred to this type of manipulative and threatening behaviour as ‘*mate crime*’ (Caitlin, Michael, Sabrina). Although a very recent addition to academic scholarship, the phenomenon of mate crime has been posed (conceptually and practically) as an alternative to the concept of hate crime when thinking about people with learning difficulties. Such a concept, according to Landman (2014), responds to the failure of hate crime to account for the harms of counterfeit friendship. Therefore, while hate crime is broadly defined by the presence of hostility, mate crime describes ‘considered actions towards disabled people at the hands of someone, or several people, that the disabled person considers to be their friends, or they may be friends’ (Thomas, 2011: 107). The primary focus of this concept, then, is the development of a ‘friendship’ with a disabled person that is underpinned by the perpetrators intent to take advantage of them (Doherty, 2015). A consideration of these manipulative behaviours highlights the targeted nature of these crimes, and the strategies that people can adopt to target disabled people in this way. Mate crime is therefore considered to be intentional and strategic, perpetrated by ‘*fake friends*’ (Caitlin) who ‘*try and put you down, and then they take over your life*’ (Elvis).

The ‘friendship’ element of these types of hate crimes are problematic when it comes to raising awareness of, and challenging hate crimes against disabled people (Giannasi, 2015a: 67). By focusing upon ‘friendships,’ the concept of mate crime risks problematizing individuals on the basis of their perceived vulnerability. Indeed, while hate crime focuses upon the hostility of perpetrators, mate crime shifts attention to the vulnerability of those targeted, who have allowed for such friendships to be developed. Moreover, researchers have argued that ‘minimising the severity of DHC [disability hate crime] by describing it in terms of “bullying” or “abuse” belies the seriousness of the attacks’ (Ralphe et al, 2016: 222). Furthermore, Sherry (2010; 2017) suggests that the adoption of bullying and abuse to describe hate crime has a decriminalising effect which, in turn, results in a paternalistic rather than rights-based response. However, the element of ‘friendship’ and intimacy that the concept of mate crime suggests can mean that it is a useful tool for supporting people with learning difficulties recognise these types of relationships. For this reason, some organizations ensured that their members are not only aware of what mate crime is, but also how this is distinct from a hate crime. A good example of this distinction was described by

members of organization two, who had developed separate drama performances to teach school children about the difference between mate and hate crime.

These discussions demonstrate some of the tensions between theory, practice, and reality in relation to how we should understand the diversity of hate experiences and how we proceed with linguistically framing them. That is, while many participants referred to mate crime as a means of articulating experiences of manipulation, it comes into contention with much hate crime discussion. Despite this, the use of alternative language such as mate crime provides an opportunity for broadening disabled people's understandings of hate crime. Being able to discuss hate crime between different spheres of practice is fundamental to improving the way in which hate crime is recognised, reported and challenged. What is more, the shared understanding of mate crime that participants already have suggests that better engagement with the term would be useful. This engagement would require both academics and policy-makers to consider mate crime as an aspect of, rather than distinct from, hate crime. Indeed, current CPS (2019) guidance on reporting disability hate crime contends that while many disability organizations use 'mate crime' with their members, it is not policy to use this term and can be confusing. It could be argued, then, that the recognition of violence within everyday life is not the key issue. On the contrary, the issue lies with the narrow parameters of hate crime as both a legal category and academic concept, which fails to include the array of incidents that disabled people can encounter with the context of the everyday. In the next section, I explore these boundaries further by drawing attention to the difficulties that participants faced when assessing the line between a hate crime and hate incident.

Assessing the lines of hate crime: *'it's all a bit fuzzy'*

The focus on 'everyday hate' in this research employs an intentionally broad conceptualisation that takes into account the routine intrusions that many disabled people experience on a regular basis, despite rarely being recognised under the label of hate crime. As discussed in chapter two, the normality of these experiences often prevents these incidents being both reported and recorded as hate crimes. As a result, hate can become an anticipated encounter whilst simultaneously sporadic in nature. Reflecting upon his own experience of working with disabled people to report their experiences, Shaz explained:

It's that difference between what's a hate crime and what's a hate incident. I think certainly my experience working with a diverse group of disabled people every day is that hate incidents are practically a part of everyday living for many people

The ambiguity surrounding the concept of hate crime is a barrier that often prevents disabled people from reporting their experiences to others. While I will explore this barrier with greater attention in chapter seven, it is important to consider how participants have come to conceptualise this process of differentiation when attempting to make sense of their own experiences. Sinead described the distinction as 'unclear' and Francis Emerson asked, 'what's the difference between hate crime and bog-standard discrimination?' Indeed, while the concept of hate crime was perceived to be too serious to relate to his own everyday experiences, the description of 'bog-standard discrimination' demonstrates Francis Emerson's attempt to still label these as something; to make them present within his own understanding. For Francis Emerson, bog-standard discrimination includes the 'generic bullying' that he has come to accept, while hate crime is limited to those 'most extreme' incidents. Again, it is important to recognise how the normality of hate encounters creates a blurring effect, whereby the severity of individual incidents is often dismissed according to the acceptance that these incidents are a 'normal' part of life. The dismissal of these mundane incidents was described by Harry, who explained his initial reflections upon his own experiences of hate:

I think my first impulse was like, you know, maybe it's a bit much to call it a crime

The impulse that Harry refers to above was also described by many other participants who had dismissed their experiences of hate as less significant. While participants seemed to be confident in their ability to describe experiences of bullying, or of abuse, they were less confident when relating these to broader understandings of hate crime. This discomfort identifies a clear barrier to the way that individuals come to make sense of their own experiences of 'hate' as ordinary and insignificant. Often, participants sought clarification from their peers when forming their own conceptualisations of hate, and re-framing their own experiences within this.

For other participants, their attention was less focused upon distinguishing incidents as hate crimes or not, and instead directed towards the recognition of the multiple different ways that hate could be expressed. In this sense, experiences of hate do not occur on a steady incline from bad to worse, but intermittently and in a number of different ways. B explained this diversity:

I mean abuse for me could be anything from a comment that is provoked by someone's characteristic, to something that is, you know, considered a crime like neglect, or financial abuse, physical abuse, or verbal

B's understanding of abuse is diverse, and includes a range of behaviours that might be enacted in response to particular characteristics. From this perspective, hate is not conceptualised as any single type of encounter but an emotion that can be expressed in many different ways. This diversity was similarly presented in Robbie's mood-board (Figure 5), which included a range of different examples of hate crime such as threats, bullying, abuse, and not being treated equally. Aligning to the 'continuum of violence' proposed by Hollotmoltz (2013) his understanding can be perceived to include a range of both implicit and explicit incidents that many disabled people experience regularly. Violence, from this perspective, 'should not be understood as singular acts of physical or sexual assault' but as 'expressions of bigotry on a spectrum of routine intrusions' (Hollotmoltz, 2013: 54).



Figure 5 Robbie

Hate crime can not be identified as one type of violence, but according to Sabrina, is ‘*so many types of abuses*’ making it particularly challenging for disabled people to draw the boundaries between mundane intrusions, derogatory treatment, and violence (Hollomotz, 2013). Many participants in this research commented upon the blurred boundaries of hate and hate crime, which makes it difficult to differentiate between the intrusions they should accept as part of everyday life, and those that are reportable incidents.

The conceptual ambiguities surrounding the concept of hate crime pose important questions about the process of recognition, and more specifically, to what point participants feel confident acknowledging their own experiences as examples of hate crime. The question is not about recognising unfair treatment, unpleasant experiences, or hurtful encounters, but to what extent these become defined as hate incidents that should be reported. Indeed, it is evident in the analysis above that there are multiple ways of making sense of hate experiences, and equally as many ways of explaining these using alternative terminology. In this way, drawing upon a range of terminology provides a ‘way in’ for discussing important issues such as hate crime, and bringing this to the forefront of people’s awareness. This doesn’t, however, suggest that the concept of hate crime is entirely inappropriate but that more work should be done to connect hate crime to language that is more familiar to everyday life. Indeed, some participants drew upon alternative language in order to articulate their understandings of hate crime, rather than incidents distinct from this. For example, participants from organization two drew upon the language of ‘*bullying*’ and ‘*fake friends*’ in order to demonstrate the difference between hate and hate crime. By using alternative language in this way, the focus is less upon fitting people’s experiences into current definitions of hate, and instead on increasingly the accessibility of these understandings, and the opportunity to engage with this.

While previous scholarship has criticised the lack of applicability of ‘hate’ to the everyday experiences of disabled people (Hall, 2013), in this research I want to trouble these narrow boundaries. By redirecting our focus to the meaning of hate crime in accordance to experience, it is possible to move away from abstract theorizations to a conceptual framework that reflects the context of everyday life. Indeed, it is important to note that many participants were less interested in having conceptual debates about

what hate crime means, and more concerned with making better sense of their own experiences. Thus, whilst I do not call for the decriminalisation of hateful acts by reducing experiences of hate to that of ‘bullying’ which carries little legal status, I do suggest the need for a shared dialogue. More specifically, how we frame ‘hate crime’ or ‘everyday hate’ must be wide enough to encompass the different types of incidents that disabled people experience. As Hall & Bates (2019: 105) argue:

The distinction between terming something as a “disability hate incident” and “macro-aggressions” is arguably immaterial. These are powerful embodied and emotional experiences, all with a strong sense of feeling vulnerable, different and disliked

As many of my participants suggested, experiences of bullying, name-calling, and abuse are part of hate crime rather than distinct from it. As hate circulates, it becomes stuck upon bodies in different ways and takes on a range of different emotions and expressions. Described by Rinaldi et al (2019: 38), ‘hatred may not be one singular emotion, but rather a constellation of negative emotions, including disdain, fear, and disgust.’ Moreover, these terms carry higher familiarity for many disabled people thereby providing an opportunity to make sense of experiences and seek legal protection and support. To this point, I suggest bringing the notion of bullying and associated terms within the wider remit of hate crime. Like Hall & Hayden (2007: 11; emphasis added) I believe that we should:

Consider the scope for labelling some forms of bullying as “hate crimes” because bullying necessarily involves the deliberate targeting of the victim by the perpetrator on the basis of perceived *difference*.

What is evident in this quote, is that there are many different terminologies that we can refer to when discussing hate crime. Whilst there are linguistic tensions between these different words, all provide a means of making sense of hate as something that is targeted towards an individual on the basis of their associated identity group. That is, the variety of terminologies suggested by participants, although different, maintains the central understanding of these incidents as a means of ‘doing difference’ (Perry, 2003). In the next section, I continue to explore understandings of hate crime

with a particular focus upon how such crimes might be recognised by their underpinning pursuit to mark out difference.

Questioning who and why: ‘*any minority, we’re just screwed*’

Despite the variety of terminologies proposed by participants, many of these were brought together by an understanding of hate crime as targeting those who are seen to be different. Indeed, whilst the conceptual basis of hate crime was subject to revision and debate, all participants were able to identify the targeted nature of these encounters. More specifically, there was a general agreement among participants that looking, behaving, or moving differently was likely to attract unwanted attention. Put by Shildrick (2009:1)

To be named as differently embodied is already to occupy a place that is defined as exceptional to some putative norm, rather than simply represent one position among a multiplicity of possibilities

Being perceived as different, then, is a fundamental element to understanding the way that hate crime is made sense of within everyday life. In the rest of this chapter, I work towards a conceptualisation of hate that is informed by participants’ own understandings of difference, and therefore, who hate might target, and why.

Othering bodies against normative standards: ‘*you’re kind of like a circus freak show*’

Throughout the research, participants made sense of hate crime as an expression of violence (in the many forms suggested above) towards an individual considered to be problematically different. For example, hate crime was described as ‘*not accepting people for who they are*’ (Daniel), bullying someone who is different (Mr Twilight), and ‘*hate or dislike towards minority groups*’ (Savannah). More broadly, Doria Skadinski described hate crime as targeting ‘*basically anyone who’s different.*’ Certain differences, such as the way we look and think are thought to determine those people who have more chance of experiencing hate crime (Brandon). Indeed, Dr Who’s mood-board was focused upon body size as a component of physical appearance. In his own reflections, he explained that those who are perceived as being ‘*too big*’ are more likely to be bullied (Figure 6).



Figure 6 Dr Who

Many other participants also portrayed physical difference on their mood-boards. For example, one mood-board included a drawing of a woman labelled as 'Mrs Blobby' along with the heading 'FAT SHAMED' and both Michael P and Delboy referred to being called 'speccy' and 'cross-eyed.' The presence of a wheelchair was also discussed by Alex, Joe, and Freddie, who reflected upon their own experiences of unfavourable treatment. For example, Freddie's mood-board (Figure 7) features three photographs of wheelchairs, to which he has captioned 'people banging into the chair and not looking at me as a person' and labelled this as examples of 'dislike' and 'resentment.' In support of this, Joe reflected upon his invisibility when using his wheelchair in public, describing that they 'don't see the person, just the wheelchair' and Alex reflected upon regularly being spoken down to. These findings build upon existing literature which has pointed to the wheelchair as a 'stigma symbol' (See Maskos, 2020). Although Lenney and Sercombe (2002) suggests that these encounters could reflect the uncertainty of how to behave around wheelchair-users, modern initiatives aiming to increase the amount that we walk continue to construct those who use wheelchairs as inferior (Bê, 2019). The assumption of both difference and inferiority is therefore key in governing hateful encounters between disabled and non-disabled people.



Figure 7 Freddie

The perception of disability as both different and inferior is also evident in the widespread desexualisation or hyper sexualisation of disabled people (Liddiard, 2014). It is worth remembering that many of the brutal murders of disabled men documented by Quarmby (2008; 2011) were justified upon false accusations of paedophilia. In these cases, the construction of sexual deviancy is read as a pronounced feature in need of punishment. While no participants in this research described similar accusations, Francis Emerson recalled feeling like a '*circus freak show*' when '*complete strangers*' ask him about his genitalia. For other participants, disability and sexuality were problematised by encounters that assumed asexuality. For example, Maisie and Sabrina both noted the assumption that people with learning difficulties could not maintain relationships, and Francis Emerson drew upon the stigma attached to autistic parents. In addition, Harry, Doria Skadinski, and Betty all commented upon the assumption that they are unable to physically engage in sexual relationships or are an undesirable and unattractive partner due to their impairments. More specifically, Harry and Lynn noted the presence of their wheelchair in rendering described feeling '*completely sexless to everyone who isn't disabled.*' Importantly, although these comments are not explicitly hateful in the type of language used, they serve to reinforce assumptions of passivity and dependency that become stuck to disabled bodies. Moreover, they present the assumption that not only are disabled

people unable to engage in any form of functional sex, but the very possibility of sexual pleasure and desire are beyond consideration (Shildrick, 2009). Cast as such, disabled people are increasingly desexualised (Santos & Santos, 2018). Bahner (2020) describes this process as a form of ‘desexualising silence’ whereby the sexual lives of disabled people are routinely pushed aside or ignored. Again, while desexualisation might not be immediately read as hateful, the implied meaning is that ‘*of course you’re not attractive enough or desirable enough*’ which for Harry, is inherently hateful and offensive. What is more, these assumptions are likely to reflect an underpinning sense of social unease, within which there is a ‘cultural anxiety around disability and sexuality ... [that is] motivated by some degree if particularised disgust’ (Shildrick, 2009: 70).

In all of these cases, the construction of disabled people as either asexual or hypersexual ultimately devalue the lives of disabled people and foster a climate of abuse (Slater, 2015). Further to this, the understandings that participants have shared about being cast as sexually different do important boundary-work. Among a number of expectations accorded to a successful transition to adulthood, adults are expected to demonstrate normative sexuality. Therefore, the persistent desexualisation of disabled people helps to preserve ‘the ableist relationships between disability, youth, gender and sexuality [which] posit young disabled people outside of adultist gender intelligibility’ (Slater, 2015: 112). Such relationships therefore support a hierarchy between disabled and non-disabled people. From this perspective, hate crime should be considered in relation to wider systems of oppression, whereby

a hierarchical structure of power in society [is] based upon notions of “difference”, with the “mythical norm” at the top and those who are “different” assigned subordinate positions (Hall 2015a: 75).

That is, boundaries between the ‘in-group’ and the ‘out-group’ are most successfully sculpted and sustained when they represent known cultural hierarchies, to which some groups will be deemed to be more powerful than others.

These boundaries exist beyond the physicality of bodies as they are preserved by the meanings that these bodies come to represent. Ahmed (2014: 4) describes this process of attributing particular meanings to the physicality of the body:

emotions are bound up with the securing of social hierarchy: emotions become attributes of bodies as a way of transforming what is “lower” or “higher” into bodily traits

That is, some bodies are not simply read as different, but as problematically different and inferior. It is important to reflect upon the way in which difference comes to be problematized, or, how it comes to surface as a collective of bodies and minds. As Chakraborti (2015c) contends, simply being different does not automatically cause someone to become subject to hate. Instead, it is the way in which these differences take on cultural meanings of threat and disgust and are marked out as a collective body. We can think about disability hate, then, to be concerned ideologically with the longstanding idealisation and denigration of different bodies and minds. In this way, disability hate ‘not only problematizes difference, but it also operates alongside ableism to shape and reinforce normative assumptions about the mind and body’ (Burch, 2020b, no page number). The following section continues to explore how hate crimes towards disabled people are contextually situated. Drawing upon the example of austerity, this section explores the movement of hate within identity divisions between the collective ‘us’ and ‘them.’

Protecting ‘us’ by marking ‘them’ out: ‘we’re too good for you’

This chapter has begun to make sense of hate crime through the desire to mark-out problematized differences, or as Ryther (2016) contends, to draw the borders. The lines of these borders are not random, but repeatedly crafted through the histories of particular signs and objects. These border-lines thus follow the emotionally-charged signs that come to shape the surface of our collective bodies.

It is through emotions, or how we respond to objects and others, that surfaces or boundaries are made: the “I” and the “we” are shaped by, and even take the shape of, contact with others (Ahmed, 2014: 10)

The circulation of hate, as it moves between bodies, comes to be stuck upon those figures whose perceived difference can be homogenised as representing threat to an entire population. Indeed, as Savannah explained, hate crimes must have an agenda that serves a purpose within a particular context. For Hughes (2000), it is the sense of anxiety, threat, and loss that has served to validate the othering and marginalization of disabled people in recent years. Emotions work within the process of othering through the stickiness of circulated discourses. In the current context of austerity, emotively charged signs, such as ‘scrounger,’ and ‘burden’ have been strategically stuck to already marginalized groups, including disabled people (Garland & Chakraborti, 2012). In this context, then, the agenda is tied to austerity politics and wider feelings of instability and insecurity. Francis Emerson described this agenda as a central component to a capitalist society:

There is this view that we, disabled people, are not productive in society, we are not generating enough money and we are taking too much money... thus we are worthless in a capitalist society. This is, I reckon this is a massive cause of the stigma towards disabled people

As Francis Emerson highlights above, disability has, and continues to be ‘a scapegoat for the anxieties, insecurities and instabilities that arise in the pursuit to adhere to corporeal standards of ableism’ (Burch, 2020b, no page number). Building upon the histories that have already positioned disability as both inferior and dependent (See chapter two), these signs distinguish the borders between disabled people and ‘hard-working taxpayers’ who are seen to be the real victims in the plotline of austerity. Within this context, feelings of fear materialise as a response to the perceived threat that the other (in this case, disabled people) create for ‘our’ (non-disabled, hard-working taxpayers) future. These future anticipations are often used to justify harmful actions in the present (Coleman, 2013). Again drawing upon the current climate of austerity, Lynn believes that negative media and government representations cause disabled people to be problematized and perceived to be deserving targets of hate crime. Media content and political discourse have provided a ‘cultural blueprint’ about the risks of disability presence (Ralph et al, 2016). In the context of austerity (and possibly beyond this), disabled people are believed to be part of the problems experienced by an ‘injured nation’ (Ahmed, 2014).

It is imperative to recognise how these conceptualisations of disability become so ‘sticky’ and culturally shared. According to Fischer et al (2018), the act of blaming others during times of chaos and uncertainty can act as a protective shield. These attitudes towards disabled people are tempting for the non-disabled figure as they enable the collective surfacing of disabled people as inferior, lacking, and thus different from *them*. There is a symbolic separation of figures confirmed. Hate can therefore be understood to function as a provider for and of love, which binds bodies together as working towards a collective ideal whilst simultaneously relying upon the ‘existence of others who have failed that ideal’ (Ahmed, 2014: 124). These constructions of a collective ‘us’ against ‘them’ were evident in Betty’s statement that *‘the government don’t like us, communities don’t like us, most people don’t like us.’* In addition to the division between disabled and non-disabled people, Betty’s statement highlights the role of the government and those in power in driving up these boundaries. Alex was particularly passionate about challenging the role of the government in enabling these vitriolic discourses towards disabled people. In his mood-board, he portrayed this by displaying an image of protesters against Brexit layered over an A board with the text ‘READ ALL ABOUT IT’ (Figure 8).



Figure 8 Alex

These conceptualisations of hate crime demonstrate the role of policing boundaries, which is central to the work of Perry (2003) as outlined in chapter three. Moreover, they highlight the way in which perceptions of strain and instability enforce these

boundary divisions. Such representations call upon culturally preserved boundaries and hierarchies, which rest upon the exaggeration of out-group traits as negative and harmful (Tsesis, 2002). Indeed, it demonstrates the potential role of what Allport has termed ‘love-prejudices’ whereby an over-estimation of the values attributed to the in-group is levied against the perceived inferiority attached to the out-group (McGhee, 2005; Sternberg & Sternberg, 2008).

By conceptualising disability as a problem contained by the other, any difference that can be attributed to disability remains outside the confines of the non-disabled imagination (Titchkosky, 2016). That is, within the non-disabled imaginary, disability is considered to be something so separate from the lives of non-disabled people that it is possible to limit meaningful engagement. Francis Emerson described this sense of separation as playing an important role for non-disabled people, helping them to make sense of disability as something inherent within the mind and body of the other. The circulation of hate is a protective strategy to maintain a distant relationship with the unknown. Indeed, some participants described hate crime as a response to those differences that people are unable to relate to (B). Ralph et al (2016: 22) argue:

The concept of disabled people as inferior and responsible for their own situation is translated into hatred towards them, thus perpetuating long-standing cultural attitudes of discomfort

A number of participants discussed this sense of aversion when explaining the awkwardness of others around them. A lack of interaction with, and understanding of, people with learning difficulties reinforces the fear of the unknown which in turn, positions disabled people as inferior and not fully human (Sabrina). Harry also believed, that ‘*people take comfort in thinking that they’re better than disabled people.*’ In this way, disability comes to *be* as an ‘other’ in the making of the self within a particular social context. That is, identities are crafted in accordance to boundaries, creating both the ‘self’ and the ‘other’ (Richards 1989). Such boundaries:

are conceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorize objects, people, practices, and even time and space. They are tools by which individuals and groups struggle over and come to agree upon definitions of reality (Lamont & Molnár, 2002: 168).

Again, the boundaries that are bolstered by hate and love are intertwined in their affective capacity to protect some individuals from the perceived threat, at the risk of denigrating others.

Identity, in itself, is part of an ongoing social process wherein meanings are constructed and reconstructed through the interpersonal interactions between different individuals (Thornberg 2015). The construction of identity is relational; by constructing the other, it becomes possible to affirm the majority. The self-defined, non-disabled figure needs disability for their own validation. By attending to the vulnerabilities or insufficiencies of others, it is possible to contain a perception of the self as superior. Hate crimes can be described to support this identity work:

people are trying to break you down physically and emotionally at the same time, making you feel like less of a person than they are (Lynn)

It is because of the relationality of identity work that the dominant narrative of disability as tragedy can be so difficult to disrupt. According to Harry, confronting these stereotypes '*ruins this image*' of disability that non-disabled people rely upon for their own self-preservation. Indeed, Betty commented upon the resistance she has faced when '*calling people out*' and Lynn explained '*you're there for their interest and entertainment, and if you don't co-operate they don't like it.*' The relationality of identity that is described by Lynn, Harry and Betty here, can be read as the work of 'cultural dichotomies' whereby, 'the disabled figure operates as the vividly embodied, stigmatized other whose social role is to symbolically free the privileged, idealized figure of the American self from the vagaries and vulnerabilities of embodiment' (Garland-Thompson, 1997: 7).

Alternative and less tragic conceptualisations of disability therefore present a risk to the process of self-preservation. It could be argued, then, that disabled people are used as containers for the unwanted, projected feelings of the dominant groups (Watermeyer & Swartz 2016). In the words of Hevey (1991), disabled people become 'dustbins for disavowal,' occupants of the difficult aspects of human existence, and the vulnerabilities that we naturally possess (Shakespeare 1997). In this sense,

narratives which reduce disability to such vulnerabilities reveal much more about the social and personal anxieties of the narrator than disabled people (McRuer 2006). Disablism, in other words, validates one's own fascination with, and internalisation of, ableism, which gains prevalence during periods of financial instability. The understanding of hate in relation to self-love, and indeed, love of the collective 'us' is important when exploring discourses of vulnerability.

Discourses of vulnerability '*They check to see if you can be made into a victim*'

The concept of vulnerability has been subject to ongoing debate within the field of disability studies (Beckett, 2006; Burghardt, 2013). Some of these debates have particular relevance to the way in which disability hate crime is understood and challenged; both theoretically and practically (Calderbank, 2000). In this section, I unpack these discussions in relation to the way in which vulnerability was positioned by some participants. What was insightful when assessing this concept, was how participants drew upon the surrounding context in order to assess the relationship between vulnerability, disability and hate crime. For example, a recognition of individual vulnerability was an important process for some organizations in order to ensure adequate care and provision for members. By recognising vulnerability, organizations worked to develop members' awareness of the potential risks for 'vulnerable populations.' Indeed, campaigns such as 'Just say kNOw' (Organization three) are premised upon the recognition of potentially 'vulnerable' people, yet have been fundamental in educating people about potential 'risky situations' and how to avoid these. Robbie, an advocate of these campaigns was passionate about using these as an opportunity to support others in the community to be more aware of vulnerability and to engage in self-protective behaviours.

Supported by policy guidance, it has become commonplace to conceptualise vulnerability as an individual characteristic. As defined by her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC, 2015: 13), vulnerability is understood to be 'the condition of a person who is in need of special care, support or protection because of age, disability or risk of abuse or neglect.' This individualised understanding of vulnerability was shared by a number of participants. In addition, the term 'vulnerability' featured upon a number of mood-boards, including Fifi's (figure 4) and Alex's (figure 9).



Figure 9 Alex 2

During discussions, vulnerability was identified as an important factor to why some individuals might be targeted over others. From this perspective, hate crimes are not entirely random (although also not predetermined), but instead target those individuals deemed to be vulnerable. Indeed, Doria Skadisnki explained this as a ‘process’ whereby ‘*they check to see if you’ve got a vulnerability, they check to see if you can be made into a victim.*’ Sabrina also defined vulnerability as an inherent characteristic, describing her and other members of organization two as ‘*vulnerable adults*’ where ‘*anything could happen to [them]*’ when out in society. Upon recognising this, she explained the ‘safe places’ scheme, which was implemented to offer additional support to people with learning difficulties when out in the community. As I will explore in chapter eight, sharing helpful resources and opportunities was a highly valued part of attending organizations.

When positioning the concept of vulnerability within our understanding of hate, it is important to consider the affects of perceiving oneself as vulnerable, and thus an easy target for others. While the impacts of hate will be considered in chapter seven, self-identification of oneself as vulnerable has an important role in shaping conceptualisations of hate. Indeed, the perception of themselves and other disabled people as ‘*easy prey*’ (Joe) or ‘*easy to get at*’ (Sabrina) was shared by many participants, and was used to explain why disabled people might be targeted. For example, participants described themselves as ‘*over-trustworthy*’ (Ellie) and ‘*gullible*’ (AD) to explain why they were more likely to be manipulated and exploited by others. Similarly, Rose recognised her desire to make friends as a cause for her

exploitation, and Shirley commented upon the *'kind-hearted'* nature of disabled people which could be used for *'personal gain'* (Sabrina; Shirley). Evident in these understandings of hate is a sense of betrayal, within which a desire for friendship is used as a means of exploitation (Figure 10). These notions of vulnerability, then, are inextricably tied to previous articulations of mate crime.

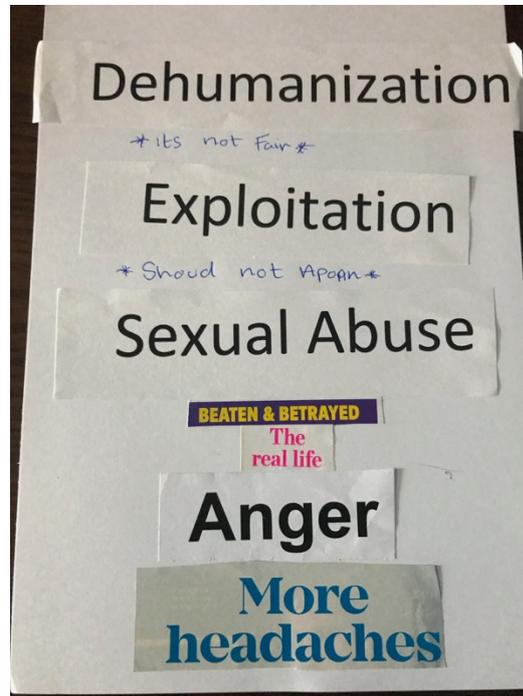


Figure 10 Mr Positive

From this perspective, perceived vulnerability becomes an identifying factor for understanding why some individuals might be targeted by hate crime, particularly those incidents that might also be considered as mate crimes.

Although the concept of vulnerability can be useful when accessing support or recognising potential incidents, many participants also described internalising vulnerability as an individual weakness (Alex, Elvis). As a result of this, many participants felt unable to *'fight back'* (Tone) or retaliate to perpetrators of hate crime (Maisie). Paul believed that he was particularly vulnerable to having the *'mickey'* taken out of him due to being in a wheelchair and not being able to *'walk away.'* Sasha explained that she wouldn't stand up to her bullies, and Bob asked *'if you can't defend yourself they attack you more don't they?'* These assumptions of vulnerability are also thought to underpin how many perpetrators view their target; *'as weak, defenceless, powerless or with limited capacity to resist'* (Chakraborti & Garland, 2012: 507). As

I unpack further in chapter seven, these relational understandings of identity can be particularly harmful for disabled people's own sense of self.

Assumed passivity is crucial in the establishment of unequal power relationships. That is, many participants agreed that they were more vulnerable to being manipulated and exploited by others because they were *'easy to get at'* (Sabrina). This highlights the importance of considering relations of power and control as inherent to our understanding of hate crime. Dr Who described these unequal power relations as a means of domination, arguing that *'they want to be dominant, dominant to us.'* While Robbie and Michael P discussed the physicality of these unequal power relations, suggesting that those who are bigger, older and stronger think they can control disabled people's lives, power relations were also described as structural and systematic. For example, Amanda Depp reflected upon being taken advantage of in the workplace by her boss, who used the hierarchy as a means of cohesion. Her mood-board (figure 11) also reflected these experiences, where she includes the specific terms *'manipulation'* and *'threats.'*



Figure 11 Amanda Depp

Previous research by Capewell et al (2015) also suggest the perception of superiority that perpetrators of disability hate crime feel over those that they target. These reflections are important not only in positioning vulnerability within our understanding of hate crime, but also demonstrating the ways in which such experiences come to be internalised by individuals (See chapter seven). What is

inherently problematic about many of these identifications with vulnerability, is the positioning of deficit and, therefore, blame, within the individual targeted. As Yeo (2019: 4) argues,

Vulnerability discourse frames particular individuals as helpless, thereby granting minor exemptions to neoliberal assumptions that individuals are architects of their own misfortune

Indeed, it is within this architectural positioning of vulnerability and hate that risks the individualisation of experience and accountability.

That is, not only can individuals come to see themselves as the hated figure, but also blame themselves for being positioned in this way. Indeed, Doria Skadinski reflected upon how her lack of initial retaliation had caused her to become a victim of more persistent encounters. From this perspective, then, hate crime is suggested to target individuals who are assumed to be passive as well as unfairly locating accountability onto the individual. Because of this, not all participants identified with the concept of vulnerability, instead drawing attention to the surroundings that create these feelings or perceptions of vulnerability. From this perspective, vulnerability was not solely located within individual identities, but ‘intersects with other aspects of their self, and with other situational factors and context, to make them vulnerable in the eyes of the perpetrator’ (Chakraborti & Garland, 2012: 508). Importantly, this more holistic insight moves away from the problematization of individuals, and reinforcement of disablist assumptions, to take into account wider factors. B was particularly aligned to this perspective in his rejection of individual vulnerability on the basis that ‘*there’s nothing wrong with someone until you put them in a vulnerable environment.*’ Rather than focus upon vulnerability, B identifies the impact of the surrounding context to how disabled people are able to be, and are perceived as being within social space.

Shifting away from discussions on victimization, a recognition of socio-spatial contexts and social relations takes into account wider situational factors (Hall & Bates, 2019). That is, by moving to consider the environment, the cultural climate, and context, experiences of hate can be better understood within the context and space that allow them to exist. As I will explore in chapter six, this wider spatial and temporal context is important. In particular, it is important to consider how certain situations or spaces might be felt as more risky and therefore, how bodies come to feel vulnerable

within these. Moreover, by changing the way in which we frame accountability of hate crime from individuals to the surrounding context, it is possible that the concept of vulnerability can take on a more practical role in explaining hate crime. In doing so, a complete conceptual aversion to vulnerability not be desirable. As I have suggested earlier in this chapter, while the concept of hate crime is ambiguous, it still fails to account for the range of experiences that disabled people encounter on a daily basis. Our understanding of hate should therefore be widened so that it has meaning within everyday life and includes a plethora of feelings, relationships, and scenarios. As Roulstone et al (2011: 360) contend:

There is a much more complex and challenging interplay of ideas of hate, hostility, prejudice, aesthetic shock, existential unease, othering and, at times, opportunism based on perceived vulnerability

By considering hate as a complex interplay of these feelings and expressions, it is possible to take account of the very uniqueness of hate encounters as they come to be felt and made sense of by those targeted. It is to this point that intersectionality is a useful concept for better understanding the complexity of hate crime and victimization (Mason-Bish, 2014). In the final section of this chapter, then, I explore participants' own reflections upon intersectionality, and how this came into play when making sense of hate crime and their own experiences.

Intersectional understandings of hate: 'I'm a female, I'm obese, I'm disabled. So I hit a number of things that people want to hate on me about'

In the final section of this chapter, I move to consider how an understanding of intersectionality contributes to the way in which participants conceptualise hate, and therefore make sense of their own experiences. Intersectionality can help to examine the complexity of experiences of hate, as it calls for an exploration of structures of oppression as they overlap (Mayer, 2010). Coined by Crenshaw (1989; 1991) in her own work on the experiences of black women, intersectionality makes a call to consider the points at which the multiple dimensions of identity interact within oppressive encounters. Such an approach is important, as it:

Is rooted in uncovering how individuals uniquely experience and interact with their environments based on the power and status that their identity groups afford (Weaver et al, 2016: 199)

The interaction between our bodies and the space around us is relational. On the one hand, our interactions are dependent upon the way in which our bodies come to be recognised and read by others. In doing so, our encounters are shaped by the way that our bodies are assigned to associated identity characteristics. As I have explained above, these characteristics signify a body that is either 'in' or 'out' of place. On the other hand, our encounters within these spaces are also dependent upon our affective histories; that is, how we have come to occupy those spaces previously and how these inform our position in the present. When considering intersectionality in relation to time, place, and context, it is possible to also identify how and why particular identities might be challenged. Indeed, many participants described incidents where certain aspects of their identity had come to be read as significant, whilst others had been left unchallenged.

The intersectionality of experiences means that they are all unique to certain individuals as they are located within a particular time-space, and context. However, there were some threads that could draw some of these experiences together. Most commonly, this entailed an intersection between weight and disability, age and disability, and gender and disability.

Betty, Doria Skadinski, and Francis Emerson reflected upon the reading of their bodies due to the intersection of disability and weight. Whilst many participants, including Dr Who, noted the likelihood of being 'bullied' if you are overweight, this was suggested to be particularly relevant for disabled people. Indeed, while disability and weight can be problematised individually, it is the way in which disability and weight are brought together that can create particularly hostile environments. Betty described: *'especially in terms of disability, being overweight, that's always something people pick on'* and Doria Skadinski explained *'they were targeting me for being obese, which is obviously part of my disability.'* Evident here is a corporeal relationship between disability and weight that comes to be read by others as bodily flaws. Thus, the interplay between gender, weight and disability constitute a unique and complex experience of marginalization (Kramer-Roy, 2015) that is situated within

particular time-spaces. These experiences demonstrate the way in which stigma, assumption and gaze comes to sit heavily on the surface of ‘fat bodies’ (Rothblum & Soloway, 2009).

By resting upon the surface of bodies, the normative gaze is able to make a judgement about what the perceived intersectional identity tells us about that individual. Indeed, to be perceived as disabled will evoke a different narrative than the perception of the other as both ‘disabled’ and ‘fat.’ Oppression at this intersectional point was described by Francis Emerson:

People notice the stick, and the walking and my weight, and they connect those. Basically they’re just like, you need to lose weight, your fat

The intersectionality of Francis Emerson’s experiences was prominent upon his mood board (Figure 12), where he includes a range of examples of verbal abuse that occur at the intersection of disability, race, physical appearance, and gender identity.



Figure 12 Francis Emerson

Similarly, Betty described having a particular weakness in her knees, which impacts the type of physical activity she is able to engage with and Doria Skadinski explained that chronic illness impedes the rate of her metabolism. Thus, although the

relationship between physical appearance and disability described by both Betty and Doria Skadinski is one of biological explanation, both are penalised for behaving and looking different. As I explore in the next chapter, this includes moments where the failure to move fast enough, or fit neatly within predefined spaces, is problematised. In these moments, the social pairing of fatness and disability is one of moral failings (Mollow, 2015) predicated upon the assumptions that fatness is an inherently bad choice, and that it leads to disability (Mollow, 2017). The way in which people respond to the bodies of Betty, Doria Skadinski, and Francis Emerson can be understood as the disapproval of an assumed ‘unhealthy body,’ or, as Wendell (1996: 98) describes, a body that is ‘out of control.’ Disapproval echoes through the words ‘*you need to lose weight, your fat*’ (Francis Emerson) as a form of governance, predicated upon the assumption that if you lose weight, then you will no longer *be* disabled (and vice versa). Disability and fatness signify these intersected points of existence, within which certain bodies are read as a text defined by excessive behaviour, inherent flaws, and abnormality (Herndon, 2002). Not only do these reflections call for a conceptual shift that recognises the complexity of hate experiences, but it similarly calls for a more serious widening of our understanding of hate that includes these implicit readings of the body.

The construction of disabled bodies as inherently flawed was similarly prominent within those incidents where hate was experienced at the intersection of disability and age. While the awareness of abuse towards elderly people is not a new phenomenon, the inclusion of this identity within hate crime discourse is recent and unestablished at this point (Mason-Bish, 2012). For example, policy guidelines in England and Wales are limited in their ability to prosecute hate crimes against older people. Sections 145 and 146 of the CJA 2003 have no statutory equivalent to other identity characteristics to enable the prosecution of hate crime purely based upon hostility towards age. However, the presence of disability in addition to age does allow for the flagging of incidents as disability hate crimes (CPS, 2019). The recognition of this relationship at a policy level was reflected in the associations made by older participants on the intersection of disability and old age. Alluding to previous discussions surrounding vulnerability, Tone, for example, explained ‘*they attack people like the old folk, erm, and the disabled cus they can’t fight back.*’ Similarly, Bev highlighted the vulnerability of elderly people to those who couldn’t resist the opportunity for an easy target. Financial gain was suggested to be particularly central

to the targeting of older people, particularly when reflecting upon inter-generational encounters. For example, Taylor and Dr Who believed that teenagers were most likely to be perpetrators of crimes against elderly people in order to take advantage of their '*pension pot*.' This belief was widely supported by the stories of a number of participants. For example, Dr Who spoke about a friend who had their bingo money stolen from some teenagers and Bev described an incident where '*two young guys*' had pretended to help an '*old lady*' in order to steal from her. These stories highlight two important points of consideration: the fear experienced by older participants about their vulnerability to crime, and the positioning of young people as perpetrators.

Fear of crime is suggested to be a real, lived reality among older participants. The reflections above suggest that older people are typically more fearful and uncertain towards the younger population (Law et al, 2019). Yet, according to Brogden & Nijhar (2000), the victimisation of older people is a stereotype predicated upon their assumed dependency. That is, these authors note that stereotypical victimisation reinforces the degree of passivity, within which older people are perceived to 'attract' crime. The issue, from this perspective, is one of *fear* of crime, rather than *actual* crime (Brogden & Nijhar, 2000). Indeed, many of the stories that participants shared were not indicative of direct experience, but rather those that had been articulated amongst groups of friends. In chapter eight, I consider the way in which shared knowledge and experience functions as a form of collective resistance, within which participants demonstrate the desire to come together as a collective and protect one another. However, the stories shared by Bev and Dr Who are based upon generate increased fear within certain communities. These suggestions shift away from the conceptualisation of ageism as institutionalised, namely discrimination that occurs within health practice, the workplace, and media representation (North & Fiske, 2012). Instead, it suggests negative inter-generational relationships, whereby the younger populations are thought to endorse certain age stereotypes that are correlated with ageism (Madrigal et al, 2020; Martin, 2019).

Coined by Robert Butler in 1969, original conceptualisations of 'Age-Ism' refer to prejudicial attitudes, discriminatory practices and institutional policies against the older population. More recently, ageism has been used to not only explain discrimination towards older populations, but the discrimination against people of *any* age, including the young (Bytheway, 1995; North & Fiske, 2012). Ageism, from this

perspective, also considers the ways in which teenagers and young people are confronted with discriminatory behaviour based upon their age (Hagestad & Uhlenberg, 2005). In particular, generational assumptions about younger populations can often mean that prejudice is directed towards the young, from the old (Bytheway, 1995). This relationship can be seen in the upsurge of discourse calling out young people as ‘snowflakes’ in order to deny their right to take offence (Nicholson, 2016 cited in Regehr and Ringrose, 2018). Indeed, Harry commented upon the use of this insult against him when trying to challenge the attitudes of others. This language identifies the younger population as delicate and overly sensitive and has become central to criticisms of increased engagement with political correctness among ‘young adults of the 2010s’ (Prazimo, 2019). In addition, research suggests that older and religious populations are more likely to hold negative attitudes towards homosexuality (Jäckle & Wenzelburger, 2015). While these relationships are not determined or exclusive among entire populations, the history of criminalisation and medicalization might be a factor in how some older populations feel towards the LGBT population. This was shared by Francis Emerson, who admitted to not speaking up about his transgender identity and sexual orientation when attending church. In addition, he recalled a particularly upsetting conversation with his grandad, to which he was told he would ‘*burn in hell*’ due to his transgender identity. In all of these experiences, the intersection between disability, sexual orientation, gender identity, and age constitute unique moments of oppression.

Some of the young disabled people within this research commented upon the presence of hate where their minds and bodies fail to meet traditional perceptions of the young body as healthy, agile, and active. For example, Francis Emerson believed that his experiences of hate would be different if he was either older or thinner, particularly when occupying accessible spaces on public transport, or bathroom facilities. Here, Francis Emerson brings together the intersection between disability and age in addition to gender identity, as he fails to adhere to normative definitions of masculinity. In a similar situation, Doria Skadinski explained that her son avoids using accessible seating on the bus due to fear of being confronted, despite such seating being more suitable to his needs. Furthermore, she reflected upon the expectation that since he is a ‘*young lad*’ he should provide her with more physical support, such as carrying shopping bags and moving boxes. Inherent within these assumptions is an

unequal relationship between men and women. This was also explained by Shaz relating to participation in the workforce:

everyone in the men's group, probably stereotypically, saw themselves as you know, I'm the person that goes to work ... this stereotypical role of being a man

Disability, here, is presented as an internalisation of hegemonic masculinity, whereby the presence of impairment impedes one's ability to fulfil the expectation to 'work hard, provide for their family and remain tough through the hard times' (Howson, 2006: 1). Hegemonic masculinity relies upon the absence of impairment (Rosan, Ellis and Lebeck, 2014). For the male participants in this project, this subordination arises in the perceived failure to meet gendered expectations about 'what it means to be a man' (Rosen & Nofziger, 2019: 297; See also Jenney & Exner-Cortens, 2018). As a form of 'doing difference' then, hegemonic masculinity operates as a means of marking out those who do not comply as well as continuing to justify oppression towards women.

According to Doria Skadinski, the assumptions that are directed towards her son are both disablist and sexist. While they enforce harmful expectations about her son, they simultaneously *'imply something about the woman ... so, like, I'm a what, weak female?* In this sense, the encounters described by Shaz, Francis Emerson, and Doria Skadinski can be said to harm both men and women who can come to see themselves through these stereotypical tropes. Put by Berdahl et al (2018:425-6)

central to the definition of what it means to "be a man" is "to not be a woman" are the ideologies and practices "through which men subordinate, and come to be viewed as superior to, women"

This intersection of gender and disability is thus complex and relational; hegemonic assumptions position both disabled men and women as subordinate and inferior. Touching upon this, Lynn described her experiences as a *'combination of ageism and disablism, sometimes with sexism thrown in.'* She explained that she looked visibly younger than her actual age, and that being a female wheelchair-user resulted in the assumption that she is weak in comparison to her male perpetrators. Similarly, Sinead reflected upon her experiences of physical bullying during school, *'I'm a girl, they*

can easily beat me just because I'm a girl and disabled.' Although Sinead was particularly resistant of this stereotype, and actively fought against this, her reflections demonstrate the cultural rendering of young disabled women as weak and inferior.

Conclusion

In this opening chapter of analysis, I have explored the diverse ways that participants have come to make sense of, and conceptualise their experiences of hate. In doing so, I have paid attention to the way that hate operates and is understood within the context of everyday life. Attending to the everyday is crucial to this research in order to consider how our definition of hate crime comes to be (or not) situated within our everyday lives. This is important, as it shifts the focus away from theoretical and conceptual debates within the academy to focus upon experience *of* hate; that is, how it is recognised, experienced, and how it feels. This chapter attends to the first of these, drawing attention to the diverse ways that participants recognise their experiences as hateful, and to the range of language that is used to define these moments.

The ambiguous nature of hate crime is not a new phenomenon, but a well-established criticism. By revisiting this debate within the context of everyday life, I have sought to develop an understanding of hate crime that is more inclusive and relevant for disabled people. That is, by attending to the terminologies shared by participants, it is possible to move towards a concept that has greater relevance to the everyday realities of those that it affects. In doing so, these findings have demonstrated some clear conceptual tensions that exist between organizations, policy-makers, disabled people, and academics. For example, figure 1 presents the categorical range of terminologies that participants used to describe their experiences of hate. While there was some discomfort in the language of hate crime, alternative terminology such as 'bullying,' 'abuse,' and 'mate crime' had relevance for all participants. Thus, although the language of hate crime is ambiguous in the context of everyday life, there is a wealth of terminology that is already known and endorsed by disabled people that might better capture the diversity of their experiences. This is particularly important considering the 'everyday' nature of disability hate crime, and the widespread exclusion of these incidents from the current hate crime boundaries. The inclusion of various terminologies when thinking about hate crime is not an easy task, and unlikely

to be conceptually neat. But it remains an important consideration for the development of a more appropriate understanding moving forward.

While the ambiguous nature of hate crime remains to be a point of contention, there was widespread agreement among participants that hate (and the various descriptors) is a form of ‘doing difference.’ Such an understanding has been integral to much academic scholarship on hate crime, and is equally important in the criminal justice system. In this chapter, I have shown the variety of ways that ‘doing difference’ comes to be understood and in particular, which bodies come to stick as problematically different. In doing so, I have made theoretical connections with Ahmed’s circulations of hate in order to consider how disabled people have become marked figures within the context of austerity. Within this specific context, the circulation of hate is understood as locating those marginal minds and bodies on the peripheries of society. Hate, as a form of doing difference, is thus perceived as a means of marginalizing the other whilst also protecting the self (or the collective us). The protection of the self not only refers to material resources, but to the personal insecurities that one may have in relation to the inherent vulnerabilities of being human.

Vulnerability, as it has been suggested, is a particularly contested concept within disability studies, and indeed, by many disabled people. For some participants, vulnerability was considered to be a helpful claim to acquiring support as well as supporting one another to stay safe within the community. The recognition of vulnerability helped some participants to understand why they might have been a target of hate crime, yet in doing so, situated the accountability of hate upon themselves. For others, vulnerability was perceived to be unhelpful, as it contributed to the continued lack of social responsibility. Indeed, as will be explored in chapter seven, often the positioning of individual vulnerability equates to a responsibility to protect oneself, rather than to challenge the disabling practices and processes within society.

Finally, this section has explored intersectional understandings of hate, in order to attend to the diverse and unique nature of experiences of oppression. By considering intersectionality, it is possible to explore how hate becomes stuck to different bodies within different spatial and temporal locations. That is, intersectionality helps to

consider how disability and other identity features might come to be problematized as they intersect within particular environments. In this way, hate crime is understood to be more than a question of what identities might be targeted. Hate crime must be considered within the context within which it occurs, including the temporal and spatial attributes of the spaces that hate is able to circulate within. Thus, in the next chapter, I explore the diverse time-spaces that hate can occur. This includes a focus upon how 'everyday' spaces, such as public transport, shopping centres, and places of residence, can become known as risky or particularly prone to circulations of hate.

Chapter 6

Geographies of hate: circulations in time and space

In the previous chapter, I explored the different ways that participants had come to understand hate, and make sense of their experiences. Developing this conceptual understanding further, this chapter focuses upon the spatial and temporal dimensions of hate experiences, as reflected upon by participants. In doing so, I ask questions about the ways that hate can become an ordinary and anticipated experience within particular times and spaces. The ordinariness of hate is an important point to note, as it relates to the ways in which taken-for-granted spaces can become sites of hostility, oppression, and unhappiness. It considers how some spaces, in their very being, are felt as uncomfortable and risky by participants, and uncovers the ways in which participants feel the surface of their bodies as fitting *in* or *outside* of, symbolic spatial boundaries. Such an approach explores how relations with other bodies, objects and our surroundings can be felt. Following Gorton (2007), it asks: ‘how do spatial relationships affect the way we feel?’ in order to take into account the spatial and temporal dimensions of hate.

In this chapter, then, I share experiences of hate as they are described and reflected upon by participants, with a particular focus upon how these incidents affect their sense of *being* within different spaces. In later chapters, I develop this analytic enquiry further by asking questions about the embodied experience of hate, and the future navigations that we make accordingly. To open this chapter of analysis, I present case studies of four participants. These case studies outline the range of hate incidents experienced, identify particularly risky spaces, and begin to acknowledge some of the ways that hate harms, and is resisted.

Case Studies:

In this section, I outline four case studies based upon the experiences of Francis Emerson, Robbie, Betty, and Doria Skadinski. As I have already suggested, experiences of hate are uniquely situated and relationally enacted and so it is not possible to determine the interactions between bodies within different time-spaces. Rather, these four case studies present different spatial and temporal relationships

between participants and their surrounding worlds, and in particular, how sites of hate can affect these relationships in the past, present, and future.

Following these case studies, I employ a geographical analysis of data. More specifically, I consider the school, social and community spaces, public transport, and the 'home' as sites where the circulation of hate can become 'ordinary.' Considering the spatiality of hate is not limited to the materiality of experiences (Hughes, 2000), but the ways in which this materiality is *lived* and *felt* by disabled people. Moreover, experiences of hate operate relationally, they 'give shape to and produce in bodies orientations, directions, and movements toward and away from other bodies' (Rinaldi, 2019: 37). Thus, the findings shared in this chapter should be read as subjective constructions of knowledge based upon the experiences and histories of participants in this project. Through this reading of experiences, it is possible to identify certain spaces as riskier than others, without arguing that these spaces will always be subject to the circulations of hate.

Francis Emerson

Francis Emerson is a young adult with '*a complex and intersectional identity.*' He identifies as bisexual, transmasculine, and Autistic. He is mixed-white British, and a member of the Unitarian/Free Christian church. He enjoys writing, gaming, and DJ'ing and regularly attends peer support groups associated with these hobbies. He spends a lot of time talking to friends, and fellow Autistic people online, although he sometimes has to distance himself from these sites due to the rise of hateful content.

Francis Emerson spoke extensively about his experiences of hate during school. He described himself as being '*a pretty weird, different kid*' which made him a target to others. He explained a range of incidents perpetrated by the same individuals. He was regularly followed around school and photographed without his consent. These experiences would cause him to have a '*meltdown*' which he explained would also be recorded. He was conscious of his physical appearance and found the photographing extremely distressing. These incidents continued into adulthood, as his school 'bullies' continued to target him both online and offline. In a particularly memorable incident, he and a friend were assaulted in the street by a group he recognised from school. He described being called names, being physically attacked and also robbed.

Fortunately, this encounter was witnessed by a police officer, who supported Francis Emerson and reported the crime for him. However, Francis Emerson admitted that if it wasn't for the police officer witnessing the event, and being pro-active with the reporting, he probably wouldn't have reported the incident himself. When asked about this reluctance, he described his fear of not being taken seriously, and not being confident that it was a hate crime. He also experienced name-calling by strangers, many of which are presented on his mood board (Figure 12).

Doria Skadinski,

Doria Skadinski is a white female who identifies as having a range of '*hidden disabilities*' including dyslexia, PTSD, and joint problems. She also described herself as '*obese*' and was regularly met with hostility due to this. Doria Skadinski lives with her son, who also has Asperger's. She enjoys writing, and hopes to write a book about her experiences of disability, and in particular, the hate incidents she and her son have endured as a result.

Throughout the interviews, Doria Skadinski described a range of 'everyday' incidents of hate whilst using public spaces, such as supermarkets, pubs, and public transport. This included being started at, name-calling, and intentional ignorance towards her impairments. However, the most significant experiences for her were those that targeted her home. Over a period of three years, Doria Skadinski and her son were targeted by a group of local '*youths*' in their neighbourhood. Throughout this period, the group vandalised her home, threw bricks at the house, shouted verbal abuse, and pushed hate mail through her letterbox. Doria Skadinski described the '*terroristic*' effect of these instances which had left her and her son too scared to leave the house and isolated within the home. Although she regularly attempted to report these incidents to the police, communication issues and lack of practical support meant that no action took place for a long time. She often became too distressed to explain incidents to phone operators, individual incidents hadn't been pieced together to show the repeated nature of the crimes, and there was a lack of awareness that 'disability' hate could be a possible motivation. Many of these incidents were therefore recorded as anti-social behaviours, rather than as hate crimes.

Doria Skadinski and her son did eventually receive support having made contact with social services within a moment of significant distress to which suicidal thoughts had

become heightened. By working closely with victim support, Doria Skadinski and her son have been engaging with a series of recovery techniques to enable them return to 'normal' life. In addition to this, Doria Skadinski now attends a number of peer-led groups which has enabled her to develop a support network and the opportunity to foster her hobbies and interests. This includes a local cinema group, keep-fit classes, writing groups and attending her local church.

Betty

Betty is a young, female adult who identifies as having physical impairments, including facial weakness and joint problems. Betty enjoys cooking and hydrotherapy, and attends local gym classes aimed at improving her physical strength and movement. Although Betty is young, the social interactions that she described were predominantly centred around therapy and rehabilitation. She feels comfortable attending these classes, despite being the youngest member, and enjoys the sense of routine that they give her. She also regularly attends hospital appointments. Betty identifies with the LGBTQ+ community and is keen to become more involved with local groups. However, ongoing disputes over her welfare support has meant she has been unable to attend social events, which are largely based in pubs and bars. She also has little engagement with peer-support groups and disabled people's organizations, but said that she would like to do more of this when her financial support has been corrected.

Betty described regular occurrences of hate whilst walking in her town centre or using public transport. Verbal abuse and staring were the most common incidents she described, and she reported regularly being called 'ugly' by strangers. Due to a slight limp when she walks, she explained that this also attracted unwanted comments in public. Betty reflected upon the impact of these ongoing incidents, including lack of self-confidence, low self-esteem and the feeling of being an outsider. She worries that she gets automatically judged by others based upon her facial weaknesses and walking. Although the impact of these experiences were evident, she said that they had become '*normal*' and that she had built up a '*thick skin*' so that she is able to deal with them.

Robbie

Robbie is involved in a number of community projects, including 'Be Aware Be Safe (BABS) and 'Just say kNOw,' both of which are initiatives aiming to keep people with learning difficulties safe in the community. He also works closely with his local police to deliver training sessions to local workforces and organizations about disability hate crime. Robbie is passionate about disability rights and is a keen advocate for helping others. He believes that through his own lived experiences, he is able to offer support to other people with learning difficulties, and teach them what he now knows. He enjoys going to the cinema, and attends a number of evening groups, such as local church meetings, social nights, and choir practice. Robbie has been a member of his affiliated organization since he moved out of institutional care 11 years ago.

During the project, Robbie shared experiences of hate whilst in, or near to, the parameters of his previous shared living accommodation. In the first instance, the two perpetrators had followed Robbie into his accommodation life and asked to go to his flat for a drink of water. Whilst in the flat, the female perpetrator distracted Robbie while the other proceeded to steal his belongings, including his laptop. On a later occasion, Robbie saw the same two perpetrators standing outside of his living accommodation. They asked if he could lend them some change, to which Robbie refused and confronted them for stealing his laptop. Then, the two perpetrators restrained him and took all of his money from his pockets. In another incident, Robbie was waiting outside of his shared living accommodation when a man approached him, and asked for a cigarette. When Robbie refused, the perpetrator jumped over the railing that separated them and punched Robbie in the face.

Robbie recorded all of these incidents and wrote down details so that he could report these to the police. Whilst he had this information when reporting the incidents, he was advised that no prosecution could be given due to a lack of CCTV and Robbie's lack of confidence in correctly identifying the perpetrators. Shortly after these incidents, Robbie moved to a new flat in a different location, where he feels more safe.

Power inequalities within hidden spaces: *'hidden away from the outside world'*

The case studies above outline some of the experiences shared by four participants in the research. While these do not capture the diversity of incidents shared across the research, they indicate some of the different spatial characteristics that arose when exploring geographies of hate. In this section, I focus upon the spatial and temporal attributes of intimate spaces as sites of power inequality. This includes those spaces relatively hidden from the outside world, such as the school and the home.

We might assume shared understandings of the school as a place of safety where most children and young adults engage with educational opportunities. Spatially, the school is an enclosed and protected space which brings students together and categorises them into ability and age-related groups. Temporally, school is a period of time within a child's life that provides structure, educational opportunities, and a place to *be* during typical working hours. Schools are, according to Valentine (2001: 143) 'places where children are not only cared for but also contained.' However, school experiences are also inherently unique, both in terms of how we come to progress through the education system, but also the changing content of schools across time and space. The school is both temporally and spatially situated within the context of each of our lives. As a result, one might expect that our school experiences are varied, in reflection of this contextual, spatial and temporal diversity. Whilst this is true, it remains the case that 'bullying' is seen to be an intrinsic characteristic of the school setting (Hall & Hayden, 2007). That is, while participants in this research all experienced school differently, bullying was suggested to be a relatively shared experience for those who are not perceived to fit with the required expectations and assumptions.

Performing normalcy: *'I think they hated the fact that I was different'*

The school is a particularly interesting space to reflect upon, as it represents a time and space where power relations, norms and deviations are always in construction. According to Collins & Coleman (2008: 283; original emphasis), 'the school *is* a place – a bounded portion of geographical space within which certain rules apply and particular activities occur.' The school is a space where boundaries and identities are continually being made. In this way, we can envision the school as a performative

space (Newman et al, 2006); a space that is contested as emotions are circulated between the surfaces of individual and collective bodies (Ahmed, 2004a). The circulation of hate creates what Ahmed terms, 'affective economies,' within which objects of emotion are circulated, and hate is distributed among particular figures. These figures constitute the 'you,' and the 'they,' which in turn, validates a collective alignment to 'us.' As identity construction is particularly prominent during the school period, the circulation of hate is suggested to be heightened in order to define these boundaries and preserve identity hierarchies.

According to Camodeca et al (2019), our school years are fraught with both pubertal changes and the pressure to engage with sexual relationships. As such, this period in our lives can be particularly challenging for young people who identify as LGBTQ due to the increasing regulation of sexuality and sexual behaviour, both within and outside of the confines of the school ground. Reflecting upon this in his own life, Mr Twilight used his mood-board to describe an experience of school bullying predicated upon his sexual orientation (Figure 13). On this, Mr Twilight notes his confusion at being called gay during this time in his life, as he didn't know what that meant. Mr Twilight's reflection is particularly revealing here of the identity work that takes place during school years, most notably during adolescence where young people are coming to know more about themselves and their place within the world Reay (2010). Indeed, research suggests that many young people can struggle to find the language to make sense of their own sexual orientation, instead feeling 'different' without being able to explain why (Robertson, 2013). The gendered, disablist, and heteronormative assumptions that are at play in these examples demonstrate the complexity of how these identity boundaries come to be within the school.

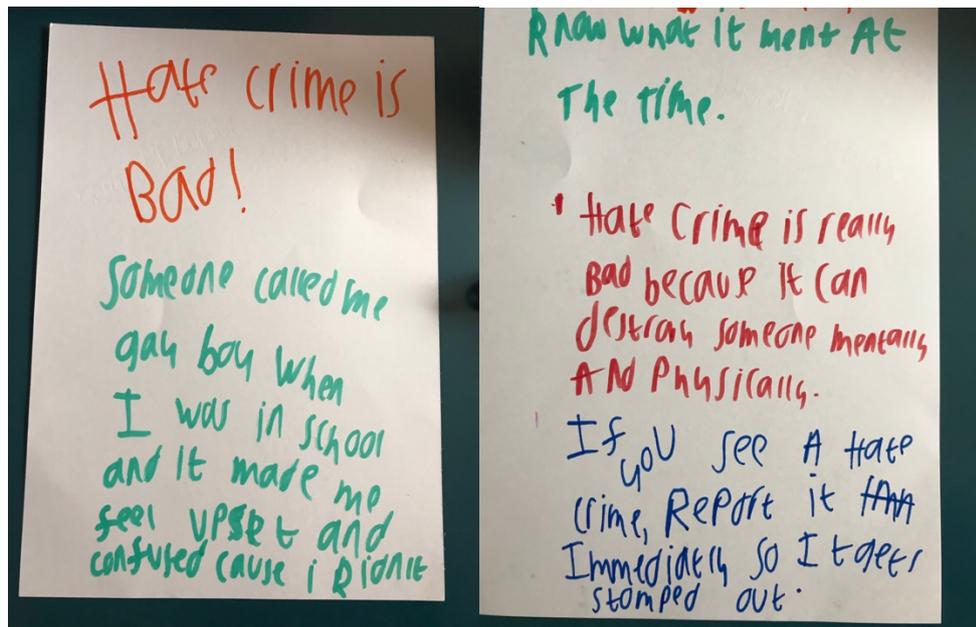


Figure 13 Mr Twilight

Although not relating specifically to sexual orientation, Fifi recalled experiences of bullying due to gendered expectations about how we look. For example, she described herself as being *'too tall for a girl'* and was taunted for wearing the same clothes too often, which she also described as being stereotypically *'boyish.'* Thus, the way in which Fifi's body was sculpted and also dressed created a bodily performance considered to be *'boyish,'* and therefore problematized.

According to Hughes (2000) our judgements of social worth are increasingly governed by aesthetics. Moreover, Garland-Thomson (1997) notes how increasing processes of *'beautification'* are likely to further marginalize some female disabled bodies as they deviate from enhanced bodies. Along every new technological development and every cultural shift, the way in which we come to differentiate bodies will change according to the culturally specific *'ideal'* figure. The dominant cultural codes of society are embedded within that of the school. Therefore, school experiences of bullying are likely to also shift according to the rules and codes of its own context. While we might share similar temporal experiences of attending a form of schooling between the ages of 5 and 16, we have lived these experiences within different time periods. Participants in my sample, for example, were aged between 18-65+ and will have lived through a variety of wider cultural factors that come to influence the school environment. Ideas about normalcy are not natural nor fixed, but

occur at particular points in time, thereby producing time-specific expectations. For Ellie, the current ‘beauty standards’ culture is particularly harmful for school-aged children now:

The amount of pressure put on kids these days to be, and I can't believe I'm saying this, but to be the perfect person. They have to reach a certain standard, and it shouldn't be like that in school. They should be able to just be kids. They're losing their childhood

The body represents the surface of our ‘presentational self’ which has increasingly come to be the basis for judgement of social worth (Hughes, 2000). Indeed, the way in which our bodies are read is first done so through our bodily make-up. We are all governed to become what Elias et al (2017: 5) terms, ‘aesthetic entrepreneurs’ by attempting to confine our bodies to our surrounding beauty standards. In a climate where young people are accessing social media and online platforms more regularly and from an earlier age, the dialogue surrounding physical appearance is particularly concerning. Bob, for example, commented on the rise of suicide among young adults, who were being subject to verbal abuse both during and outside of school, which he chose to present on his mood board (Figure 14).



Figure 14 Bob

Although there is not the scope within this chapter to consider the circulation of hate within online spaces, previous research suggests that it is a site requiring critical scrutiny (Burch, 2018; Duffy, 2003; Sherry, 2020). In particular, it calls for an examination of how the circulation of hate within the school environment is perpetuated by access to beauty standards online, and how bullying within the school can transgress its geographical boundaries.

More generally, bodily standards about how we should look were commented upon by a number of participants in relation to their impairments, which impacted both their bodily image and behaviour. For example, both Elvis and Maisie commented upon being called names relating to the appearance of their teeth. As Elvis explained, *'I used to have big teeth [so]they used to call me a cartoon character, Goofy.'* Similarly, both Sabrina and Michael P commented upon their experiences of bullying due to wearing glasses. In these examples, participants demonstrate the way in which perceptions of physical difference are both constructed and monitored within the school environment. Underpinning this very process of othering is the intent to marginalize disability as unworthy and inferior, in contrast to the assumed 'normality' of the orator. Building upon the conceptual work in chapter five then, bullying within schools can be considered as part of wider structural processes that seek to differentiate between 'us' and 'them.' In this way, the assignment of roles within the school environment elicits embodied performances between groups, whereby 'we' are able to enjoy the privileges of being unmarked (Davis, 1995; Garland-Thompson, 1997), whilst 'they' are left to navigate the normative aesthetic expectations of the school.

Corporeal expectations that are embedded within the school not only exclude disability, but are also inextricably tied to issues surrounding race, class, and gender. Whilst there are many reasons that certain 'differences' might become marginalized, James (1993 cited in Valentine, 2001) identifies height, shape, appearance, gender and performance as prominently marked out identity characteristics. That is, our bodies and the way in which these move, are typically the first to be read by others. Francis Emerson reflected upon the reading of his body upon his mood-board, and the complex intersection of identity that such a reading could construct (Figure 12).

Francis Emerson described himself as a '*pretty weird kid*' as a result of being Autistic, his weight, and having curly hair. Among many others, then, he described being called '*pineapple head*,' '*spastic*,' and '*spurgy*.' The use of language within these encounters draw upon the physical characteristics that relate to his ethnic origin and disability. Moreover, he reflected upon being followed with cameras and having his photograph taking unwillingly. The use of photography can be read as being particularly racialized and disablist in their intent to mark out the way in which his body looks and behaves. Indeed, photography acts here as a means of capturing and classifying the other body; a practice that has been used throughout history (Whittaker, 2009). Thus, we can read these practices as means of enforcing unequal power relations between Francis Emerson and his perpetrators.

Institutional schools: power negotiations and '*bully boys*'

To further consider the performative nature of the school, it is useful to explore power dynamics between students, as well as between staff. In this section, I explore how power relations come into play within the school environment, and thus how they affect our performances within. Michael P explained these dynamics in relation to what he termed as '*bully boys*':

*When there was a big gang and it's always the main one in the crowd,
everyone wouldn't pick on him because he's a big fella. But he would pick on
the small fella's like myself*

Michael P attended an all-boys, segregated, residential school and described experiencing physical, verbal, and sexual violence. Exercising unequal power relations, these forms of violence were enacted by bigger and older students, or members of staff. By picking on '*the small fella's*' perpetrators can be understood as negotiating power struggles and frustrations that are confined within institutional spaces. Indeed, within the confinement of the institution where resources and space are subject to competition, identity hierarchies are particularly pronounced. Furthermore, hegemonic masculinity operates within the forging of student identities based upon size and strength to therefore distinguish between students and determine power relations accordingly (Valentine 2001). Elvis also commented upon the struggles of hegemonic masculinity within the context of education and his workplace as an adult. Similar to the dynamics outlined by Michael P, Elvis explained patterns

of violence targeting the boys who were considered to be more 'vulnerable' to exploitation. It is also interesting that Elvis pointed out 'groups' and 'gangs' of lads as causing trouble within society, suggesting his long-standing caution towards these groups. Indeed, this might indicate how power relations have continued to shape Elvis' interactions within the community, despite leaving school many years ago.

Thus far, I have considered the school as a space particularly prone to power negotiations between students. In the following, I focus upon the relationships between staff and students, and highlight the ways in which the structures and routines of institutional life can be exploited by those in power. Reflecting upon her own experiences of institutional school, Taylor described the ordinariness of physical violence enacted by members of staff. Moving beyond inter-student relationships, Taylor highlights the more general power dynamics that situate staff as superior and in control of students. Violence, in the context of institutional schooling, can be seen as a form of disciplinary power to which group boundaries are maintained in accordance to their spatial and temporal surroundings. Indeed, the spatial and temporal characteristics of the school enable these relations to be maintained. For example, Michael P describes how the routines of segregated schooling are easily manipulated to allow for the systematic violence towards residents:

Battering was another thing. On top of that, getting sexually abused. So you're taking every day of the week, only except Sunday because that was an important day Sunday

What is significant here, is the pattern of violence that Michael P alludes to, which demonstrates how both time and space within the institutional school is controlled by, and for, staff (Valentine, 2001). The Sunday routine requires students to dress in uniformed clothes, attend Church, and be visited by their parents. This schedule provides moments of temporary release from the daily expressions of violence that Michael P has described. This routine highlights the level of disciplinary power held by staff, who are able to utilise the rhythm of the institution to ensure that all secrets are kept within its confines (Malacrida, 2006). According to Parr (2000) these institutional routines place bodies, geographically and temporally, as docile and disciplined within certain spatial structures. Organized in this way, as a confined and

hidden space that is governed by the power of staff, institutional schools allow for violence and unequal power relations to exist. Indeed, within these power relations, 'hot violence' becomes part of the cultural fabric of the institution (Rossiter and Rinalso, 2019).

Institutions were highly regulated spaces largely out of sight of the public. Indeed, the remote and often rural location of these types of schools meant that they were largely hidden from the public view (Philo, 1987; Valentine, 2001). Like many others, Michael P, Robbie and Taylor spent the majority of their child and young adult life within the marginalized settings of institutions (Malacrida, 2006). In turn, then, these segregated spaces ensured the socio-spatial exclusion of disabled people from mainstream society, and from the protections that this afforded (Gleeson, 1999). The walls surrounding these segregated spaces create a protective veil, whereby the violence of institutional life is secured within its physical boundaries, '*hidden away from the outside world*' (Michael P). As a result, participants commented upon the difficulties of raising awareness of, and challenging, the systems of violence that were embedded within institutional school spaces (Michael P; Robbie). Violence, in this way, comes to define the spatiality and temporality of the institutional school, whilst simultaneously leaving deeply engrained impressions upon those who experienced this. Indeed, in chapter seven, these impressions are explored in more detail in order to demonstrate their long-lasting affects. Robbie explained that while incidents would be reported to senior members of staff, there were little repercussions. As Michael P displayed on his mood-board, it is often the case that disabled peoples experiences are not listened to (Figure 15)

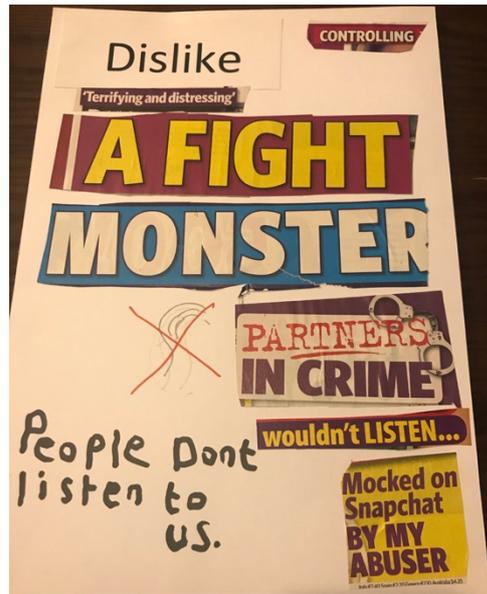


Figure 15 Michael P

Indeed, the 'hidden' and intimate make-up of the institution prevents interference from the outside world, in a similar way to the family home. This shows, then, how bodies can become disciplined within particular spaces and how they come to surface as a collective. At the same time, it should also question how these bodies can be productive within these relations; how do disciplined bodies also come to resist and disrupt these structures? While this question will be addressed in chapter eight, the following section continues to consider the spatiality of violence as it occurs within the hidden and intimate dynamic of the home.

Home: A place of safety and refuge?: 'get him out or he's gonna kill you'

For many, the home is considered to be a safe, loving, and positive space where we can exist outside of the pressures of public life (Valentine, 2001). Yet for a number of participants in this research, the home had become a site of violence due to the unequal power relations that had been fostered within. The stories of institutionalisation presented in the previous section demonstrate how such power relations can constitute a space that is underpinned by violence, manipulation, and exploitation. Applying this dynamic to the home, this section shows how the intimacy of these private spaces can offer protection from outsider interference and no escape for those individuals who become 'trapped' within. Indeed, the assumption that the home is a place of safety can ultimately obscure within-home violence (Price, 2002). To develop this

understanding further, in the following section I discuss experiences between family members within the confines of the home, and then move to consider how tensions within the neighbourhood can come to stick upon certain figures.

For some participants, the family home presented a dangerous space where the confined and private spatial configuration meant that violence could be concealed from public view and protection. Both Fifi and Aaron Presley reflected upon the violence that had experienced within their childhood home. For example, Aaron Presley recalled experiences of sexual and physical violence perpetrated by his brother. While in the 'safety' of his family home, he described being forcibly raped by his brother on one occasion, and hit with a baseball bat on another. Although Aaron Presley did not elaborate on his parent's response to these incidents, a member of staff did confirm that he no longer had a relationship with his family. Fifi also described particularly troubled relationships with both her mother and father which she perceived to be a result of her positioning as the 'runt' of the family. For example, Fifi reflected upon being excluded from family activities, such as day trips, and not being allowed to participate in social activities, despite her brothers being involved many. The way in which Fifi's routine is controlled highlights how the intimate and hidden nature of the home environment (Warrington, 2001) can allow for the regular circulation of hate. Furthermore, she describes her attendance to school as the only opportunity to meet with her friends, which she suggests was further exacerbated by the rural location of her home. Isolation within rural spaces is suggested to be particularly difficult for children and young adults, due to the feelings of exclusion and powerlessness it can provoke (Valentine, 2001). Based upon Fifi's experiences, it could be suggested that her parents further enforced this geographical isolation by restricting her access to social events. In doing so, it created barriers for Fifi in being able to seek support and share her experiences.

Between the age of 5-11, Fifi explained that she was physically abused and raped by her father, but had little opportunity to seek support due to the rural location of her home. In addition, she described being '*shouted down*' by her mother, who regularly called her a tomboy and believed that she would never get married. She was repeatedly '*dragged*' down to the doctors by her mother, and '*topped up with Valium.*' Her mother's increasing use of medicalization presents a further attempt to control her

behaviour, and in doing so, locates the ‘problem’ of behaviour within Fifi. This dynamic can be likened to research that has revealed the intimate ways that disabled women may also be subject to abuse by their partners (Hollomotz 2013). Presented in research conducted by the Violence against Women Research Group (2008 cited in Quarmby 2008), it was found that many male perpetrators of domestic abuse to disabled women would augment their power by choosing when to provide assistance, or not at all. Often, as participants explained, this included preventing access to medication, taking the battery out of their wheelchair, or not letting them go to the toilet. While in this case, power relations are between Fifi and her mother rather than an intimate partner, it demonstrates how the provision of care (whether necessary or not) can be manipulated by perpetrators as a means of maintaining control.

There are many layers to the ways in which violence came to be enforced within the family home for both Fifi and Aaron Presley. Indeed, violence was enacted in a range of physical, sexual, verbal, and emotional ways that could be preserved within the confines of the home. In this way, the home can be read as a space of confinement, isolation, and concealment. In all of these forms, the home remains to also be a place of intimacy that is spatially enforced. Intimacy here is not a place of comfort, but of fear (Price, 2002) where residence within the home is ‘neither a refuge nor a secure base’ (Warrington, 2001, p. 371). On the contrary, safety is experienced upon escaping from the confines of this private space. Aaron Presley now lives within supported living and Fifi lives in a flat accompanied by her cats. Fifi described the moment she left the home, unexpectedly at the age of 14:

one week I came in and my mother had got rid of all my stuff like, teddy bears and all sorts of stuff. Next week you start at mill. I went, what? 14 year-old

While leaving her home so young was not anticipated, Fifi described this moment as a means of escape. These experiences present clear tensions between our ideal conceptions of the home as a welcoming and secure space, and to the material, lived and domestic realities of disabled people (Imrie, 2010). In doing so, they call for a more in-depth examination of how violence is experienced and conceptualised in relation to its geographical location. Whilst, for example, the violence experienced by children within their family homes is most commonly termed ‘neglect’ or ‘abuse,’ it

is clear that the negotiation of power and manipulation of routine that occurs within such spaces might be better understood as circulations of hate.

Hate in the neighbourhood: ‘*they used to wait for me to come home*’

The stories shared by Fifi and Aaron Presley disrupt the home as a space of safety and sanctuary due to the intimacy afforded to these private spaces. For others, the security of their home was subject to the relations surrounding them. Indeed, many participants described neighbourhood disputes which came to impact the way in which they felt safe and secure within their home. When violence is directed towards these personal spaces of our home, it no longer offers a temporary retreat, but a space lived in and through violent encounters.

Some participants described single incidents where their home had become the site of targeted violence. For example, Sinead discussed her family home being ‘*attacked by some yobs*’ when they set fire to her garage and put fireworks in their letterbox, an experience Taylor also experienced. Tone claimed that some local teenagers had been throwing eggs and stones at his house on a regular basis, as well as receiving unwanted telephone calls late at night. In all of these examples, violence is directed towards individuals by the contact made with the physical boundaries of the home. These intrusions to the private space of the home can alter how we come to *be* and *feel* within the home. Violence from the outside breaks the boundary between the private and the public spheres. For those bodies within this, these structural breakages are *felt* as a direct attack on them. In doing so, attacks to the home send a message of confinement, whereby leaving the house carries risk of also being physically targeted.

Other examples present the physical intrusion of the home by uninvited visitors. For example, Robbie, Elvis, and Alex all described being burgled whilst living in supported accommodation. While these incidents were not physically violent, the experience of being burgled can have significant affects upon those who are targeted (Wollinger, 2016). According to Rengert and Groff (2011), the cost of burglary is both emotional and financial, with many people feeling the need to invest in safety precautions or, in some cases, to move house completely. These responses to burglary in the home thus create additional labours, as indicated by Elvis, who described having to move home after ‘*some lads [had] done my flat in*’ and burgled him. Moving house

was a strategy similarly described by Robbie following two related incidents at his shared accommodation (See Case Studies).

Supported living accommodation can offer a greater sense of security for those living within them due to the potential to establish a nurturing community among residents (Hall, 2005). For Robbie, however, a lack of support, security, and regulation meant that he was targeted twice by the same perpetrators within the parameters of his shared living accommodation. Robbie described the friendly behaviour of perpetrators, who joined him in his lift and asked him for a glass of water from his flat before distracting and robbing him. In the next encounter, this façade had been disrupted with Robbie's knowledge of their previous encounter, yet the perpetrators forcibly took control of the situation to steal from him again. Robbie's experiences raise an important question about what it means to live in a safe and secure environment. While moving out of the institution and into these supportive living facilities signified a move towards independence and community belonging, these two encounters challenged this for Robbie and caused him to feel unsafe in his home.

Repeated violence changes how our bodies occupy our surrounding space. We become more aware of our movements both within and around these spaces which can cause restrictions in how we come to live in our home. Throughout the project, Doria Skadinski, Kezza and Tone reflected upon experiences where their home had repeatedly become sites of violence. As Doria Skadinski describes:

They started vandalising things and putting things through our letterbox, leaving stuff in our doorway, stealing our dustbin, vandalising our car on a regular basis. And then one day they took the actual, they smashed off the front of the garage ... then they, for about a five week period, came to our home every single night and attacked our house

In this single account, Doria Skadinski describes a series of violent incidents targeting her home. Although many of the incidents would not be classified as crimes, the repetitive and sustained nature of the violence has an accumulative impact upon the sense of security that Doria Skadinski felt when occupying her home. In a similar way, Kezza described a series of homophobic abuse towards her by her neighbours:

The person next door was very, very, what's the word? Homophobic? Erm, it was, this shouting things in my garden, tried breaking into my house, erm, they nicked me underwear from the washing line, erm they put my windows through on the house, and every time I was coming home from work they were all watching me, erm when they saw me they shouted abuse

Like the experiences shared by Doria Skadinski, Kezza describes an ongoing pattern of abuse both on and within the parameters of her home. Kezza chose to focus her mood-board upon these experiences, and in particular, to highlight the way that these incidents made her feel about herself (See chapter 7).

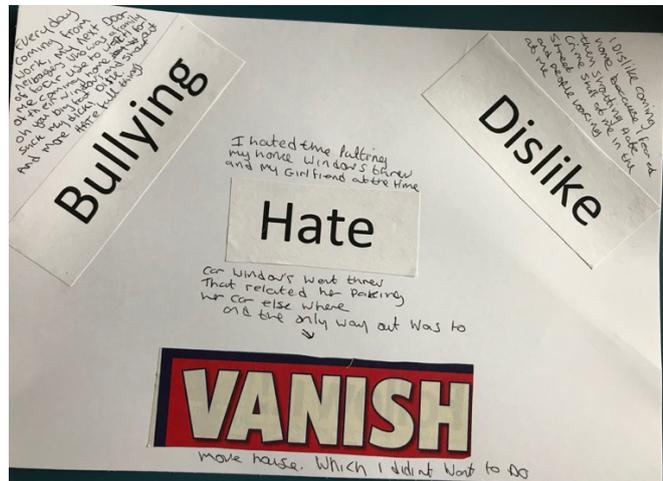


Figure 16 Kezza

As highlighted in her mood-board (Figure 16), Kezza's experiences occurred regularly over a long period of time, and eventually lead her to 'vanish' and move home. Thus, whilst household features such as fences, hedges, gates, and alarms create boundaries between the home and the outside world (Valentine 2001), these incidents infringe upon these. Indeed, the accumulation of 'everyday hate' changes the way that this space can be felt as intimate, private and safe. Rather, the home becomes a space for hate to be circulated upon, and thus shapes the surfaces of bodies within as figures of hate.

While the specificities of Doria Skadinski and Kezza's experiences are different, they both present the accumulation of incidents that change the way in which the home can

be lived within and felt as a safe and secure space. Previous findings suggest that this type of repeated victimization is particularly pervasive for many disabled people (Hamilton & Trickett, 2015). To continue exploring this 'everyday' nature of hate, the following section considers experiences of hate within more public spaces with a particular focus upon their spatial and temporal characteristics.

Travelling through, and being present within, public space: '*as a disabled person, it doesn't feel safe at all*'

In this section, I consider some of the ways that people come to occupy public spaces based upon their previous experiences and encounters. With the circulation of hate in flux, the navigation of public space requires a high degree of self-regulation and awareness. Although geographically distinct, the findings shared in this section identify shared characteristics of public space which can heighten disabled people's sense of precarity and risk. Public space refers to a range of spaces; it refers to the materiality of space that is open to, although not entirely inclusive of, a diversity of people, values, and behaviours. In this section, I consider public space in the form of community hubs, public transport, town centres, restaurants, pubs, and shopping centres to demonstrate the sites where disabled people risk becoming excluded from.

Navigating risky public space: '*out there*' on the streets

For some participants, the phenomenon of everyday hate constitutes complex and unique geographical localities for disabled people. These localities become complex, as they do not occupy single and confined spaces, but a range of public spaces more generally. For many participants, being '*out there*' (Sabrina) is risky due to the sense of exposure and vulnerability, where the protections of confined spaces are not afforded. Gordon, Dr Who, and Billy reflected upon this feeling of vulnerability in relation to their fear of being followed. For example, Dr Who believed that people would wait around corners from him, and watch him in order to learn about his daily routines. Thus, for Dr Who, being in public signifies a high degree of exposure, making him feel more vulnerable to being targeted. On the other hand, Billy and Sabrina highlighted the risks associated with '*dark alleys*.' Although these spaces constitute a public space, the degree of exposure is significantly reduced. Indeed, the dark and hidden nature of such spaces reduces visibility and carries with it particular assumption about the types of people (and risk thus invoked) that inhabit them

(Valentine, 2001). In turn, Billy alludes to the negative connotations of ‘urban darkness’ (Liempt et al, 2014) within which, space is transformed and produced in a different way based upon the time. This was also highlighted by Brandon who referred to his fear of dark spaces on his mood-board (Figure 17).



Figure 17 Brandon

As shown in his mood-board, Brandon also associated spaces of darkness with the feeling of fear and terror. What was significant in this project, however, is that few participants distinguished between ‘night’ and ‘day,’ instead noting their general anxiety of moving and being within public space. This suggests that the way in which perceive and experience space is not only related to time of day, but the presence of, and relation to, other bodies within this space.

Participants’ perceptions of fear of public space was suggested to depend upon the behaviours and actions of those around them. More specifically, it was the sporadic behaviour of others that made participants feel more at risk. In one encounter, Shaz explains having his sight impeded by a group of ‘lads’ walking towards him:

I was moving using my white cane as you do, and I couldn't distinguish people, but I thought I can distinguish light from dark. And, erm, things went suddenly dark and I ducked because I thought I was going to walk into something. And somebody told me what it was. It was a group of lads walking towards me and one of them held his arm out straight, as if, so if I didn't move I'd have walked into it

In this encounter, Shaz describes walking with his white stick, before being obstructed by the group of lads. While Shaz did not provoke this behaviour, it demonstrates the risk that is present just by being in social space. Public space can thus *feel* inherently risky for those bodies who's are not able to move successfully through space unmarked. In a similar encounter, B shared an incident experienced by his mother whilst she was walking across a university campus with her white cane as a visual aid. Like Shaz, an unknown perpetrator blocked her route and thus impeded her movement. Such an encounter is inherently hateful, working to prevent and impede the way that some people are able to move within this particular space. Importantly, both of these encounters demonstrate the accountability of the perpetrator by causing this contact between bodies to be made. Indeed, to purposefully make contact with B's mother and Shaz, the perpetrators took ownerships of a seemingly 'shared' space and thus constituted how B's mother and Shaz were able to *be*. Spaces, and more specifically, our encounters within public space, can come to shape our own sense of self and how we feel we fit into this. In this way, encounters such as those outlined above impress restrictions onto disabled people through the contact that is made (See chapter 7).

The sporadic nature of hate encounters within public spaces highlight the navigational barriers that come to define the routes that bodies are able to take. Experiences of hate don't simply impress upon individual bodies, they can carve the spaces within which people feel they can and can not move within. For Lynn, these impressions have a detrimental impact upon her energy levels, and can cause her to cancel planned activities, or avoid certain spaces completely. Lynn reflected upon a range of encounters, including having mud thrown at her because she was '*wheeling*' past a group of people, and being '*spat on by a group of adults.*' Having to navigate these types of everyday encounters requires '*an additional expenditure of energy*' that she said would often wipe her out and cause her to go home. In this way, these examples of unwelcome hostility demonstrate a regulation of public space that seeks to exclude other visitors (Kitchin, 1998). Again, it is the way that contact is made between the bodies of Lynn and perpetrators, and within a particular space, that shapes how Lynn feels she belongs (or not). These encounters can therefore be suggested to shape Lynn's body, as she refers to feeling like an 'object' that is subject to the attitudes and behaviours of those around her. As I explore in chapter seven, objectification in this

way impacts how people experience and make use of their bodies (Butler & Bowlby, 1997) across a range of present and future temporalities.

We can also read these experiences as an example of how certain figures can be simultaneously absent and present within social space. For example, in the above encounters, the presence of Shaz and B's mother is made absent in the treatment of their bodies as if they are not there. However, their presence is also heightened by the contact made between their body's and of the perpetrators. During these moments, certain bodies are considered to stick out, and thus attract unwanted attention and contact. Such incidents present what Gleeson (1999: 136) terms, a 'cultural antipathy of "unruly difference"'. Again, we can reflect here upon the experience of staring that was reported by most of the participants in chapter five. In this sense, the hyper-visibility of the other body can attract unwanted attention, as Betty's experiences demonstrate:

I was walking to a shop and I was walking back from it and this kid, must have been in the sixth form, so like 17 or something and he shouted at me to walk normally and then all his mates were like stood there laughing

Betty recalled a number of incidents similar to the one described above, explaining that she had come to anticipate being called 'ugly' when moving within public space. In this sense, her personal histories constitute a particular anticipation of *being* within public space. That is, she comes to know certain spaces through her previous experiences, and thus prepares herself for the expected expression of hate directed towards her.

The way in which bodies become present and absent within different spaces reflects a much wider process of marginalization, whereby some bodies are not anticipated to exist within certain spaces. In the following section, I consider this more closely by drawing upon the precarity described by participants when occupying social spaces, such as pubs and clubs.

Drinkscares: ‘*what are you doing here? You should be in bed*’

Throughout the project, participants reflected upon their experiences of occupying ‘drinkscares’ (Wilkinson, 2017). While for much of the population, these spaces are sites of spontaneous leisure and meeting new people (Hubbard, 2007), their navigation can require additional labour for others in order to move successfully. In particular, these spaces can carry particular risk due to their typical night-time temporality, as already discussed. As Hubbard (2007) suggests, negotiating city life at night is a very different proposition to doing so in day light. Not simply a case of visibility, a variety of emotions and practices gain traction during the night, that may not be as prominent during the day (Williams, 2008 cited in Liempt et al, 2014). In the context of nightlife, and specifically, spaces such as pubs and clubs, we can also consider the way in which consumption of alcohol might influence behaviour. Typically defined as ‘drinkscares’ these specific sites of urban night-life can become rooted in inequalities (Wilkinson, 2017). Indeed, we can pose the question of how our bodies surface together (or not) within these spaces when done so through the influence of alcohol.

Spatially and temporally, then, clubs and pubs can become tricky terrains to navigate. They are replete with both ‘dangers and unpleasant experiences’ as well as ‘pleasurable and playful ones’ (Hubbard, 2007). According to Harry, the influence of alcohol makes people ‘looser.’ Indeed, he described a shift in the way that others interact with him, depending upon the time, space, and consumption of alcohol. Crucially, Harry reflected upon what he calls ‘*throwaway lines*’ as an experience he has come to anticipate when *being* in these drinkscares as a wheelchair-user:

If I’m out in clubs and people have been drinking you just get little comments like, I dunno, words like spaz, cripple, things like that

Although the language that Harry describes here is explicitly disablist, it remains to be increasingly socially acceptable or disregarded as banter. Indeed, according to the Anti-Bullying Alliance (cited in Burch, 2018), such terms are commonplace within schools, articulated by both staff and students. This was supported by Bob, who explained that words like these are thrown around throughout school, meaning they often become part of our cultural discourse.

While such language is identifiable as disablist, uncomfortable encounters were described as being more implicit and thus more difficult to challenge. Indeed, Harry reflected upon being asked intimate questions concerning his ability to engage with sexual activity, as well as the assumption that any girl that is with him is his carer. Such assumptions are inherently paternalistic, and based upon the perception that disabled people do not belong in these types of spaces. Explicit in the question posed by one club goer, '*what are you doing here? You should be in bed*' (Harry), clubs and pubs are not considered to be appropriate places for disabled people to occupy. In this way, these types of '*throwaway comments*' constitute a space that is anticipated to be hostile and uncomfortable. They present what Madriaga (2010) drawing upon the work of Chouinard (1997), describes as the 'axiomatic relationship' between ableism and public space, which limits the spatial mobility's of disabled people.

Francis Emerson and Richard Jackson also discussed the exclusion of disabled people from most LGBTQ+ spaces due to the architectural design of meeting spaces and ableism assumptions about people with learning difficulties. Supported by recent findings by Stonewall (Bachman & Gooch, 2018), many LGBT disabled people continue to experience discrimination or poor treatment within the LGBT community. The exclusion from these drinksapes can therefore result in the lack of opportunity to meet with friends and peers within social spaces which is an important source of contact for many young adults. Indeed, alcohol consumption and engagement with nightlife can be experienced positively in terms of 'emotional, embodied and affective senses of being and "belonging"' (Jayne et al, 2012: 546). These spaces, particularly for young adults, can be important social sites to meet others, create identity and have fun (Liempt et al, 2015). However, this sense of liberty is in constant tension with the anticipation of 'throwaway comments.' The challenge, according to Hubbard (2007: 120) is 'to negotiate these pleasures and dangers, using practical knowledge of the city to avoid situations that they would rather not deal with while seeking out forms of pleasure and stimulation.'

It has been suggested that drinksapes and nightlife more widely can be particularly emotionally charged spaces where the social norms of daytime behaviour are disrupted (Liempt et at, 2014). These disruptions were discussed by many of the participants in this research who believed that their safety was particularly

compromised in circumstances where alcohol consumption is high. Amanda Depp, for example, explained how alcohol often fuelled people's emotion, with a particular emphasis on anger. This fear of anger can alter the ways in which people come to make sense of their experiences, and how they might perceive them within a different time-space. Changes in how we perceive our sense of place within surrounding worlds are continually reproduced and reconstructed in accordance with our ongoing engagement with the social world. This ongoing process of construction is particularly useful when thinking about how we might perceive experiences differently in accordance to the time-space that they are situated within. For example, Doria Skadinski reflected upon an incident that occurred in a pub, suggesting that the outcome could have been much worse if the perpetrators had been drunk:

I went to the pub, and I went to the disabled toilets because I don't feel safe using the shared ones. And erm, I was walking through the pub and there was a group of men, so you can imagine a group of men is quite intimidating. They looked at me and they said, oh, look at her in her stupid glasses and started poking fun at my glasses'

In this encounter, Doria Skadinski considers the way in which her gender and impairments are read by the 'group of men.' Spatially, the type of toilet she feels comfortable using often creates conflict due to not looking 'physically disabled.' In addition, her experience is ultimately gendered, as she calls out the intimidation experienced due to the presence of a group of men. Yet she further reflected upon this experience, speculating upon how it might have unravelled if the group of men had been drinking. She asked, '*what if they were really drunk? What if they decided they wanted to fight and just hit me?*' Such questions demonstrate her association between alcohol consumption, violence, and risk. The association between these factors are not unjustified; the introduction of alcohol to any situation and space provokes change. Jayne et al (2012: 215) argue that:

drinking and drunkenness can be understood as patterns of activities that take on different meanings within a constellation of interlocking practices performed by people who simultaneously shape places and are shaped by places

Other participants also recognised the role of alcohol when reflecting upon their experiences. Michael shared two examples of hate within his local pub. In two separate incidents, he described having his drink spiked as well as being hit on the head with a briefcase. Building upon this, Michael focused his mood-board on the risk of alcohol-fuelled violence, where he comments upon an important storyline from the Soap Opera, Coronation Street (Figure 18).

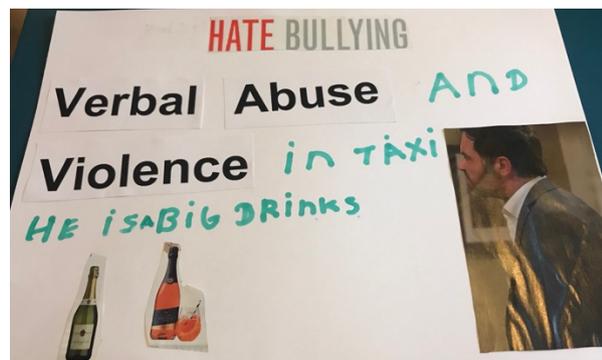


Figure 18 Michael

Experiences of violence within drinkscales were experienced by a number of other participants. For example, Amanda Depp recalled being hit in the face having become caught in the middle of a fight, and Francis Emerson reflected upon the dangers that he perceived for disabled people, and in particular, those with learning difficulties.

It's one of those things that I kind of hate saying it, it makes me seem like a bit of a douchebag frankly. Sometimes people who are disabled, people with disabilities, however you want to say it, erm, are quite vulnerable and then sometimes, the LGBTQ community can be quite dangerous, especially the nightlife side of things

In this statement, Francis Emerson emphasises the vulnerabilities that disabled people in particular might experience during nightlife in the LGBTQ community. In particular, he commented upon the presence of drugs, and opportunity for using these as a means of exploiting people with learning difficulties. As a result, he and many others reported feeling pushed out of the LGBTQ+ community, which is suggested to

contributed to the continued dismissal of young, LGBTQ+ disabled people's rights (Liddiard and Slater, 2018).

While the above accounts reflect lived incidents, many other participants expressed their fear of being in pubs and clubs without disclosing direct negative experiences. Indeed, although only a small number of participants described violent altercations within these spaces, final workshops revealed that they remained to be a largely avoided space. This avoidance, which I will explore throughout chapter seven as a strategy, might reveal the ways in which contemporary panics over 'Binge Britain' come to shape the way that drinksapes are both perceived and experienced (Holloway et al, 2009; Jayne et al, 2010). In this way, by considering the experiences of participants within these different drinksapes, it is possible to trace the ways in which circulating emotions come to affect people in different ways. Whilst the experience of clubs and pubs are dependent upon a wide range of influences, the narratives of participants emphasize how the combination of alcohol consumption and sensory attributes offer certain 'atmospheric assemblages' (Wilkinson, 2017). These assemblages create circulations of emotions that affect different people in different ways; shaping the surface of the collective majority that the space is typically designed for, and those others who can feel the affects on an individual level.

In the same way that places of social engagement, such as pubs and clubs, come to mark out the presence of othered figures, experiences of public transport were suggested to be particularly problematic. In the final section of this chapter, I explore some of the difficulties that participants reported experiencing when using public transport.

(Not)using public transport: *'it makes me just not want to use the bus'*

Public transport can provide important access links for disabled people that enable them to move in and around their community, meet new people, and follow a regular routine (Wilkins, 2020). Yet for many participants, these forms of travel were considered to be hot spots for experiencing hate. Therefore, public transport is suggested to be a 'necessary evil.' It provides access to a range of places that might not otherwise be available, yet can be a particular difficult space to negotiate due to issues such as over-crowding which heighten feelings of frustration and anger (Walters et al, 2016). Moreover, research findings suggest that people with learning

difficulties are more likely to encounter hate crime on public transport than any other group (Chakraborti et al, 2014). In the following, then, I consider some of the ways that disabled bodies come to be problematized upon using forms of public transport and in particular, attend to the normative neoliberal desires of how bodies should fit in, and move, within these spaces. In doing so, I demonstrate how the material specificities of public transport can allow for the circulation of hate. Within these confined spaces, the way in which our bodies are considered to occupy space correctly or incorrectly is always under regulation by others. Hate thus becomes stuck to those figures who are deemed to be occupying their surrounding space in the wrong way, or are seen to be impeding upon the comfort of others.

The architecture of public transport has long been criticised for being largely inaccessible for many disabled people. While inaccessibility goes beyond the material environment, much research has identified a plethora of physical barriers that can impede disabled people's access to using public transport (Pyer and Tucker, 2017). While this was an issue discussed by a number of participants, hostile interactions when using public transport constituted the most challenges. Reflecting upon her time living in London, Betty explained the rude and hostile interactions she endured on public transport as a result of her physical impairments, which she described as slowing her down. Due to studying commitments, she found herself often travelling during peak times, which meant that she was moving through London amongst a mass of commuters. She described being given death stares and being barged into if she was in the way of others.

Betty's inability to keep up with the fast-paced rhythm of London (and more generally, inner city) life reveals the widespread aversion to the presence of disabled people who do not meet certain criteria (Imrie, 2000). Indeed, being able to 'speed up' has become a central part of city life in order to keep up with the demands of the modern working world (Paiva et al, 2015). In such a climate, the inability to move through space at a fast pace is routinely problematized, particularly for younger adults for whom health and vitality is an assumed state of being. Building upon findings shared in chapter five, Betty's experiences highlight the significance of intersectionality when understanding the complexity of hate experiences. Indeed, the performance of the young body is expected to be graceful in bodily movement,

stamina, and ability (Valentine, 2001). As a young female, then, Betty is expected to have the ability to keep up more readily with the rhythms of the commute. These age-related expectations were similarly discussed by Francis Emerson, who reflected upon encounters whilst occupying accessible seating on the bus:

being young and disabled, sometimes if you sit down in a disability seat and someone old gets on, and people will be pretty nasty and biting sometimes if you don't move

Such encounters are widely reported by disabled people, who often find the need to justify their right to use accessible seating, particularly where elderly members of the community, or parents/carers with pushchairs also wish to use the space. These marked-out spaces are continually interpreted and assessed by observers. As Hall (2018: 253) explains,

disabled parking bays, wheelchair spaces on public transport and other such “designated” disability spaces are not necessarily spaces of inclusion. It is the interpretations of those using them that make them what they are.

This experience was also shared by Joe, Alex, and Arjun who, despite using a wheelchair, commented on the reluctance of others to move if they were using accessible seating on the bus. These experiences, for Hall (2018), reflect a socio-spatial relationship where competition over space and resources creates conflict. Indeed, limited space available and high demand for the occupation of these spaces heightens the risk of conflict for disabled people.

Thus far, the experiences shared present issues with how the materiality of space comes to be negotiated and assessed within the everyday lives of participants. These spaces are continually interpreted based upon assumed categories of deservingness which inform the ways that different bodies come to be read by others. As I have already discussed in chapter five, the reading of disabled bodies as ‘undeserving’ has been heightened within a climate of financial austerity (Briant et al, 2011, 2013). In this context, the very category of disability is subject to debate and suspicion comes to underpin experiences of hate. Indeed, for some participants, their experiences of

hate that occurred upon public transport reflected wider cultural narratives of disability and fraudulent behaviour:

I was getting off the bus and the like, there was probably a group of 2 or 3 men who were hanging about and started shouting “ooh look another benefit cheat” and just started coming out with “you know he’s only pretending to use that white stick (Shaz)”

In this encounter, Shaz is questioned by an unknown figure of whom we can assume to be a non-disabled, so-called ‘hardworking taxpayer.’ Suspicion and assumption here serve to police boundaries and assess the authenticity of disability. The language of austerity was also explicit within an experience shared by Lynn:

the guy assaulted me in front of the driver. I was stepping onto the bus with my cane and he tried to knock me on the floor, ff’ing and blinding all over the place and how I was a faking, scrounging, little bitch

Lynn described this experience as particularly distressing in a number of ways. For example, she felt hurt by the lack of public response, and failure of anyone, including the bus driver, to confront the man who had subjected her to this. Moreover, Lynn recognised undertones of sexism, ageism, and disablism, as the perpetrator was described to be a white, middle-aged, non-disabled man. These traits, for Braidotti (2013), are the assumed qualities of humanity and citizenship, and have similarly been recognised within current understandings of the ‘neoliberal citizen’ which has paved the way for ‘neoliberal-ableism’ (Goodley, Lawthom & Runswick-Cole, 2014). These understandings of neoliberal-ableism are present in the language of ‘*faking, scrounging, little bitch*’ which make an explicit call to the context of austerity within which disabled people have been made scapegoats to the generalised fears and anxieties associated with financial instability. Under the rein of a Coalition and Conservative government, we have witnessed a widespread panic about fraudulent welfare claims (Roustone, 2015). Within this context, there becomes a level of acceptable suspicion, whereby self-identified ‘hard-working taxpayers’ feel entitled to mark-out the so-called ‘scroungers.’ Unfortunately, Lynn’s experience is not out of the ordinary, as

Sherry (2010) has previously claimed that perpetrators will often challenge a disabled person's authenticity, before moving to harm them.

In her work writing about the circulation of hate towards asylum seekers, Sara Ahmed describes how such encounters seek to expose the 'bogus' asylum seeker:

the possibility that we may not be able to tell the difference swiftly converts into the possibility that *any* of those incoming bodies may be "bogus" (Ahmed, 2014: 47)

In the context of austerity, the experiences of Shaz and Lynn highlight the 'hyper-visibility' of disabled people when accessing public transport. Hyper-visibility occurs in response to both the perception and assessment of difference, and contributes to feelings of alienation and marginalization (Kruse, 2010). Inherent to these encounters, is the way in which identities are both established and enacted to secure the validity of the bogus other. The orator of such questioning presents a sense of entitlement in contrast with the unknown and contested identity of the other figure. Within public spaces, then, it can be argued that unequal power relations exist between those who would identify as non-disabled, and those others who are typically positioned upon the periphery. The hegemonic positioning of non-disabled people is validated through the enactment of hate and marginalization towards the other within public space. One means of enforcing these divides via the spaces available, is through increasing governance of who should, and should not, be occupying certain spaces upon the bus.

The ways in which our bodies come to be organized within the shared and confined site of public transport offers an interesting analysis of power relations. In the above examples, the organization of space on the bus is negotiated on the lines of deserving and undeserving. For other participants, the spatiality of the bus presented different types of power inequalities, where the presence of young adults and children came into conflict. As Taylor recounted:

I was on the bus last summer, these kids were right at the back. Do you know what they did, I knew one of them because I was really getting picked on, lad got a ball [and] threw it all over my head

These discussions mirror previous findings that suggest the ‘victimisation’ of disabled people is most likely to be perpetrated by children and teenagers (Beadle-Brown et al, 2016) as well as the more general fear that older participants had towards younger populations. A similar spatial configuration was also described by Amanda Depp who recalled the anxiety she feels when walking off the bus due to people laughing at her from the back. Similarly, Shirley recounted having a lump of chewing gum put in her hair, and having bits of wet paper thrown down at her from the back of the bus, and Sally described children pulling her hair from behind. What is shared amongst these experiences, is the spatial configuration of the bus, and the positioning of bodies within this space which enables these power relationships to become more pronounced. For example, in all of the encounters above, the young people and ‘kids’ are described as being situated at the back of the bus. The backseat of the bus is considered to belong exclusively to teenagers (Jewitt, 2012). In addition, research suggests that where bullying occurs within the bus setting, it is often perpetrated by ‘back-seaters’ (Cleary & Sullivan, 1999). In most buses in the UK, the back of the bus is raised slightly, accessible via a small number of steps (thereby already being physically ‘excluding’ for some individuals). This raised position provides greater visibility of the lower deck and the ability to regulate other bodies. What is more, bus drivers have also discussed the difficulty in regulating behaviour on the bus where incidents occur at the back as this can disrupt their concentration (Evans 2014). This suggests, then, that the back of the bus in particular offers a relatively unregulated space for hate encounters to occur.

These examples demonstrate how the spatial configuration of space enable particular relationships to take place. While the incidents shared by participants appear to be mundane in nature, with only a few examples of physical violence, their accumulation constitutes an exclusionary space.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have employed a geographical analysis of hate experiences in order to identify some of the ordinary spaces that hate has been suggested to take place. More critically, I have analysed the way in which spatial and temporal characteristics of everyday spaces, such as the school, home, drinksapes, and the street, become

ready sites for the circulation of hate. In doing so, I have considered the relationality between bodies and surroundings space in order to demonstrate how ‘everyday worlds are infused with power and politics’ and are, therefore, fundamental to the diverse circulations of hate’ (Thomas and Sakellariou, 2018). Drawing attention to the geographies of everyday hate is important in order to begin to think about how these ordinary spaces can reinforce power inequalities and the exclusion of particular bodies. To consider this relationship in more detail, the next chapter explores the different ways that hate comes to ‘impress’ upon bodies, thereby shaping the way in which we come to navigate (or avoid) spaces around us and how we might position (or not) our bodies within these.

While it remains the case that affect shapes our bodies in different ways, and to different extents, these affects can become patterned according to the unique nature of our embodied histories. As Wilson (2017: 462) writes, ‘encounters are not free from history and thus whilst the taking-place of encounters might be momentary, they fold in multiple temporalities.’ Due to these histories, emotions are unpredictable and undetermined (Kuby, 2014). We are affected by our experiences in different ways, and while it is possible for many people to ‘feel’ sad or happy, we all have different relationships with this feeling meaning we are affected by it in unique ways (Ahmed, 2004a). In the same way, how we come to *feel* and *belong* within different spaces are situational, both shaped and constrained by broader relations of power and social order (Wilton and Horton, 2019). Accordingly, my analysis does not seek to propose a set of rigid feelings that someone might experience in relation to hate, nor suggest that we will all respond to hate in the same ways. Rather, it asks questions about what (and why) some feelings become sticky:

Histories are bound up with emotions precisely insofar as it is a question of *what sticks*, of what connections are lived as the most intense or intimate, as being closer to the skin (Ahmed, 2014, p. 54)

With this in mind, I want to open up an exploration of the emotionality of hate as it is situated within particular encounters between space and occupying bodies. Such an analysis asks why some affects of hate might stick more than others and attends to the histories of bodies that are innately tied to their present and future capacities.

Chapter 7

The ‘*Impressions*’ of hate: *feeling* and *being* after hate experiences

In the previous chapter, I explored experiences of hate as they were spatially and temporally situated. In doing so, I identified a number of ‘risky’ spaces where participants had become figures of hate as it circulated between social actors and their environments. To develop this further, this chapter seeks to explore how participants come to *be* in response to these experiences. It poses questions about how our bodies *feel* and occupy their surrounding space, and how we are moved by those around us. Such an approach moves beyond a material description of events, and recognises the intricate ways that these incidents are experienced, lived, and felt. Experiences of hate are thus perceived to be innately relational; they present an active encounter between two or more subjects who affect each other, and are affected by their surrounding environment. Thus, the analysis considers how the embodied histories of disabled people, as they are spatially and temporally situated, come to shape the affective capacities of bodies in the past, present and future.

In this chapter, then, I hope to explore how disabled people are affected by hate, both in the moment as well as the future, due to the histories that these experiences configure. I draw upon Ahmed’s work on emotions to consider how we come into contact with others through geographically situated affective economies. Moreover, I consider how such affects constitute the future capacities of disabled people; how they negotiate, navigate, and respond to, their social worlds accordingly. Such an approach explores how relations with other bodies, objects, and our surroundings can be felt. Specifically, I discuss some of the long-lasting harms of experiencing hate, which draws attention to the ongoing making of our bodies within the spaces we come to occupy. In doing so, I share participant reflections upon their responses to hate experiences, and how these come to shape who they are and what they might become. I show how these everyday experiences affect participants and risk the internalisation of oppression as part of who they are. This impacts the ways that participants made sense of their own use of space, and their decisions on how they should navigate these particularly risky spaces in future. Indeed, as I present in this chapter, many participants develop strategies of managing their experiences, and avoiding those places where hate is perceived as particularly sticky. In doing so, many participants

reflect upon the increased emotional and financial labour they must undertake in order to navigate public space successfully.

Long-lasting impressions: ‘you don’t get over this overnight’

More traditional conceptualisations of violence have privileged those expressions that are physical, while excluding verbal and symbolic acts from definition. For example, Cudd (2006: 87; emphasis added) defines violence as ‘the intentional, forceful infliction of *physical* harm.’ This type of definition has maintained a hierarchy of oppression that perceives physical violence as the most serious form of violence (Capewell et al, 2015; Meyer, 2010). By exploring the ways in which hate incidents have come to *impress upon* participants, I hope to question this hierarchy and recognise the ways in which emotions can continue to circulate within the minds and bodies of those who are sealed as objects of hate. In particular, I draw attention to the way in which these long-lasting impressions are inherently and incessantly violent, as they come to shape the affective capacities of bodies both in the present and future.

Following Ahmed’s ‘cultural politics of emotions’ we can conceptualise hate as an emotion which circulates between social actors and within particular social spaces. As I explained in chapter three, the circulation of emotions can *impress* upon and become stuck to certain figures, who come to represent the ‘you,’ ‘they,’ and ‘them.’ In doing so, the circulation of hate ‘unmakes’ the words of the designated other (Ahmed, 2014). This process of ‘unmaking’ became apparent within the reflections of many participants, who suggested the impact of these experiences on their sense of self and how they now *moved* within particular spaces. Central to these reflections, is that hate can have long-lasting impressions, all of which can affect bodies in different ways, and come to be in changing times and spaces. For many, these lasting impressions are a result of being unable to let go or forget about experiences. For example, both Sabrina and Caitlin described this as a process of ‘*grieving*’ which suggests a high degree of sorrow and regret regarding her experiences. To grieve is to reflect upon our past: what it used to be, and how it can never be the same again (Goldie, 2012). Following the work of Wittgenstein (1958: 174), Goldie (2012) describes grief as a pattern ‘which recurs, with different variations, in the weave of our life.’ Sabrina and Caitlin’s own description of grief therefore implies the way in which these experiences have enabled (or prevented) them to *be* at different moments in their lives.

Many other participants also described the longevity of these memories, with a particular emphasis on how they represent unwanted intrusions to their thoughts. Rose, for example, described having ‘*flashbacks*’ and ‘*nightmares*’ of her experiences, and Aaron Presley, who also experienced nightmares, said that he often found it difficult to fall to sleep. These unwanted intrusions are presented to be painful, as Rose depicts on her mood-board, which includes the words ‘*bad dreams*’ with a drawing of tears coming out of an eye. The intrusive nature of these dreams could also be indicated by the smaller sets of ‘angry’ eyes that follow the letters down the page (Figure 19 Rose).

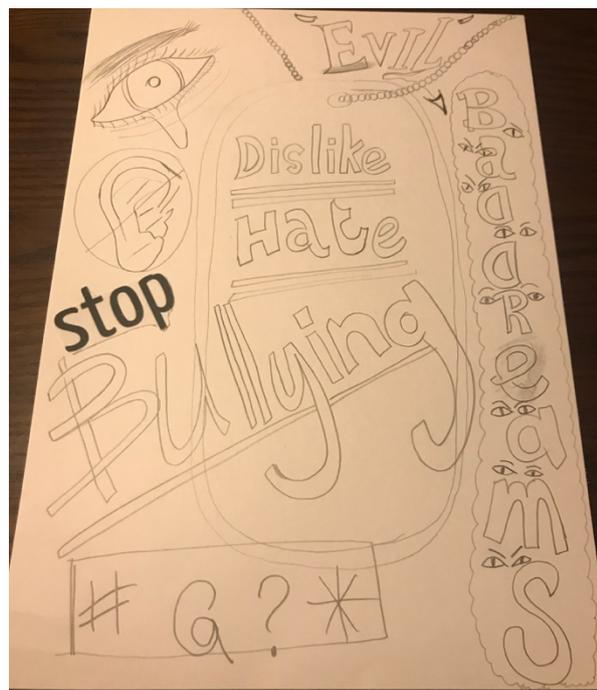


Figure 19 Rose

We can understand these memories as being ‘stuck’ to participants in the sense that they are unable to escape from them. For example, Alex described, ‘*it never leaves me, you know, it’s like, it’s one of things like forget about it, but you just can’t.*’ Thus, whilst participants might want to forget about particular experiences, they are suggested to be too deeply impressed upon them. Robbie comments upon this impression, highlighting just how long these memories can last:

I've been in the community 11 years and I lived previously in care, but even though I've been, it still haunts me. It still hurts me the way we were treated in the past

Like the reference to ‘*nightmares*,’ the description of these memories as ‘*haunting*’ is particularly powerful, implying the ghostly movement of memories as they persist within and around our consciousness. These memories are an ‘absent presence’ that might never leave (Stone, 2015, p. 116). In the rest of this chapter, I explore some of the ways that participants experience the haunting of these memories, attending to the different ways that they are uninvited and unwelcome reminders of hate encounters. I consider how participant’s experiences in particular spaces create lasting impressions that continue to inform their sense of self, and who they can become.

Making meaning of experience: ‘*it does just feel like part of the package*’

Some participants admitted finding it difficult to process incidents of hate as they occurred, and instead made sense of these once they had been given the time and space to reflect. Indeed, whilst these experiences made participants feel ‘*anger*’ (Michael), ‘*frightened*’ (Billy), ‘*heartbroken*’ (Sabrina) and ‘*cheesed off*’ (Violet), it often took longer to unpack how these feelings felt, and how they continued to feel. For example, Elvis described the feeling of confusion during his hate incident, and the panic that he felt at not knowing how to respond at the time. Sabrina and Caitlin described becoming ‘*frozed*’ and unable to fight back to their perpetrators. The temporality of experience can become intensified in moments of confrontation and it therefore requires a change in both time and space to allow us to *be* with, and make sense of, our feelings. As Rashotte (2005: 6) explains, time:

provides us with the opportunity to revisit our past experiences, to dwell with them, particularly in light of the ongoing experiences that add to our understanding and offer new appreciations

By reflecting upon our past experiences, we are provided with the opportunity to *be* in different ways and to take ownership over how we come to understand them. However, for many participants, the everyday nature of hate provided a barrier to being able to isolate incidents as single events subject to reflection and ownership.

Rather, the mundane nature of many of the incidents described adds to the emotional complexity, as the circulation of hate is felt as a continuous flow of events, rather than isolated incidents. While many of the incidents were described to be ‘*small*’ the accumulation was similarly suggested to have a lasting impact (Betty) and a ‘blurring’ effect (Shaz). Betty and Shaz highlight some of the tensions inherent to making sense of hate experiences, particularly those that infringe upon our everyday lives. The perceived insignificance of ‘small’ incidents is in conflict with the recurring patterning of such events which can blur the boundaries between incidents and thus distort how we *feel* about these. The blurring of these every day, mundane incidents create a pattern of ‘normalisation’ whereby the experience of hate comes to be anticipated when entering particular spaces. Reflecting upon the experiences of himself and others, Peter explains ‘*people don’t realise they’re being victim because to them it’s always been part of their life.*’ As I discussed in chapter three, the ‘ordinariness’ of disability hate is a significant barrier for those trying to make sense of their experiences. Rather than recognising these incidents as unacceptable, repeated harassment and hostility are thought to become routine features of being ‘different’ and thus become normalised features of everyday life (Chakraborti 2018). In turn, few incidents are recognised and reported as isolated and ‘serious’ encounters, and instead become an anticipated part of everyday life.

This sense of acceptance is clear in Betty’s story, who despite acknowledging the potentially harmful impact of the accumulation of ‘*small incidents*,’ largely accepted these and claimed that she had become ‘*desensitized*’ to them. Indeed, she questioned the ability to take such incidents forward, asking ‘*how [would] I go about it, like just walk into a police station because someone called me something?*’ Such a reflection might suggest that we can prevent ourselves from thinking about feelings and in doing so, from making sense of them. Indeed, like Betty, the very normality of these experiences for Sinead had made it difficult to recognise incidents as hate crime, instead describing these as examples of ‘*people being normal douchebags like they always were.*’ While this acceptance can prevent hate incidents from being recognised as such, they can have equally harmful impacts upon the way in which people make sense of their own experiences and sense of self. Instead of directly challenging incidents, many participants discussed management techniques, which typically included attempting to ignore hate experiences, or denying the meaning of them. Joe

claimed that he '*let['s] it go over my head*' and Gordon dismissed the significance of hate encounters, suggesting they '*go through one ear and out the other.*' Similarly, Harry reflected upon a process of invalidation, whereby '*I used to basically invalidate my own experiences ... I used to deny how I was feeling.*' This denial often means that experiences remain lodged within individuals as their own responsibility.

The denial of hate encounters can be an important management strategy. However, it is important to recognise the emotional harms that this process can invoke. For example, Rose spoke about wearing '*a bit of a poker face*' despite crying on the inside, and Maisie described the build-up of experiences within her own mind, which often made her feel *depressed* and *stressed*. The sense of denial that participants describe can therefore be understood as an internal feeling which materialises upon the physicality of the body. For example, in addition to become increasingly isolated within her home, Doria Skadinski become physically unwell and suicidal. Shirley admitted to '*abusing*' her own body as a means of managing her ongoing hate experiences, and Sabrina shared her experiences of self-harm. Francis Emerson described the impact of managing these physical responses as making him feel like a '*flat battery,*' and Ellie described a '*closing in*' effect, due to not having the energy to continuously challenge hateful experiences. In this way, the *impression* of hate can heighten the disempowerment that many marginalized people already feel, and further add to the silencing of their stories (Gelber & McNamara, 2016). Here, research has the potential to challenge this disempowerment by providing a platform for stories, experiences, and reflections to be shared. Failing to do so, according to Ahmed (2014: 57) '*is to repeat the crime rather than to readdress the injustice.*'

Impressions are felt physically and emotionally as they contribute to the making and (re)making of our embodied histories. These embodied histories help to shape our behaviour in the present and future. The impression of hate can therefore have particularly damaging long-lasting effects upon the way in which people situate themselves in their surrounding world, and how they come to know the places around them. In particular, the internalisation of these impressions can limit self-esteem, self-confidence, and self-worth which creates a diminished sense of being within the world (Reeve, 2004). Francis Emerson described these impressions:

*they say sticks and stones may break your bones but words will never hurt me.
But breaking your bones, your bones will heal and stuff but sometimes words
don't always leave*

As Francis Emerson describes above, words can have a lasting effect due to the way in which they come to shape your sense of self. Unlike the physical scarring or breaking of the body, words remain etched upon the surface of the body and impact the way in which we hold ourselves in front of others. These etchings thereby shape how we think about ourselves as belonging (or not) within our surrounding space, and how others come to read our bodies. This internalisation constitutes the relationality of disability, and most notably, 'barriers to being' (Worth, 2013) which will be explored in the next section.

Psycho-emotional disablism and the internalisation of oppression:

'we've always been made to feel it was us, that we weren't good enough'

In the previous section I drew attention to some long-lasting harms of hate experiences. In doing so, it is important to recognise that harms can continue to haunt individuals far beyond the lifespan of the initial incident. One way that these harms can materialise is through the internalisation of hate. In her important work within feminist disability studies, Carol Thomas highlights this process of internalisation as foregrounding what she terms 'psycho-emotional disablism.' TELvis hinted towards the sense of heaviness when explaining his mood-board to other members of organization five (Figure 20). Drawing upon the example of celebrity 'Judy Finnigan,' Elvis explained that the accumulation of oppression could

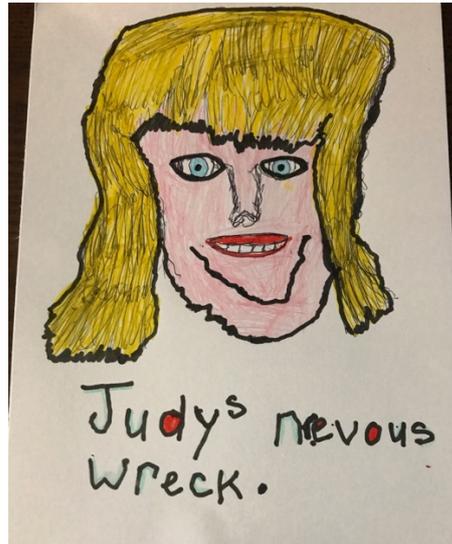


Figure 20 Elvis

result in a breakdown and further '*drag you down.*' This description is particularly useful in capturing the suggested heaviness of internalised hate, and the way in which it excessively presses upon our bodies and minds. Thus, from this approach, the process of disablement is shown as operating within individual minds and bodies, which moves within and between the surface of our bodies and surrounding world.

One way that psycho-emotional disablism can become apparent is through the process of self-blame. A number of participants identified with this process as a means of making sense of, and taking responsibility for, experiences of hate (Alex; Shirley; Michael P) When explaining this, they attributed it to the negative feelings that they had developed towards their own sense of self and identity. As Harry explained, he had developed a lot of '*self-hatred*' and came to accept many of the negative expectations and assumptions directed towards him. Most notably, this included the assumption that no-one would want to have a relationship with him due to him using a wheelchair. Harry admitted internalising this assumption for a long time, and thus placing barriers onto himself. Francis Emerson also reflected upon this internalisation, explaining that he had started to repeat the words of others within his own head. Through the process of internalisation, then, both Harry and Francis Emerson had come to see themselves through the stigma directed towards them (Brown, 2013). Similarly, Betty reflected upon her lack of self-esteem, which had come into light when discussing her perception on what others thought of her. She believed that others

thought she was an *'easy fuck'* explaining, *'they've seen that I'm an ugly person so they're just targeting me for sex.'* Betty's own perception of herself as *'ugly'* and an *'easy fuck'* reveals her internalisation of a number of incidents relating to her physical appearance and sexual orientation. In turn, she has begun to see herself through the narratives prescribed to her which impacts her ability to engage with the LGBTQ+ community.

Experiences of disablement contribute to how our personal subjectivities are relationally shaped and sculpted by the surrounding social world. As Mol & Law (2004 cited in Titchkosky, 2007; original emphasis) explains, *'we all have and are a body... as part of our daily practice, we also do (our) bodies.* In practice, we enact them.'

From this understanding, the experience of hate within the everyday lives of disabled people can contribute to the ways in which their minds and bodies interact with the social world in the future. Internalisation can come to limit how people see themselves within these different spaces. Evident in the reflections presented above, the internalisation of oppression *'places limits on disabled people, who they can be by shaping individuals "inner worlds, "sense of "self," and social behaviours'* (Thomas, 2007: 72). Whilst the internalisation of oppressive attitudes can occur gradually, others reflected upon this process as particularly intrusive. Lynn described this process of internalisation as *'a kind of battering'*:

People treat you as if you're not worth it, well of course after a while you start to think they may be right

Similarly, Pete describe the process as an *'endless spiral'*:

They're telling you what you can't do, so you do start looking at yourself thinking oh I can't do that, then you start thinking, why should I bother doing anything?

In these reflections, Lynn and Pete identify a clear connection between the way that they are positioned by others, and how this has come to inform their own sense of self and worth. They refer to the accumulative impact of disabling encounters, and the psycho-emotional harms that these can have (Thomas, 1999). The description of this

process as ‘*battering*’ and an ‘*endless spiral*’ suggests the continuous, confusing and unruly force, and can help to visualise its particularly visceral nature. Moreover, whilst these reflections detail the constant movement of emotions, they also present how particular feelings can become ‘stuck’ or ‘lodged’ within their own sense of selves. They present some instability in how emotions circulate, and the extent to which they freely move between bodies. In turn, identity risks becoming felt and lived through the negative assumptions of others. In the following section, I explore in more detail the construction and reconstruction of our identity. In particular, I consider how this process can create self-imposed barriers to the way in which we situate ourselves in our social world.

(Un)making and (re)making our identity: ‘*I feel like I’m not me anymore*’

In the section above, I considered some of the ways that participants make sense of, and live through their experiences of hate. In doing so, I revealed the intricate ways that hate comes to impress upon our sense of identity. Participants commented upon these internal processes of identity formation through the metaphors of ‘*scars*’ and ‘*markers*.’ Sapphire, for example, explained these lasting impacts upon identity as a permanent marker. Again, then, the lasting impression of hate appear to be ‘stuck’ onto particular minds and bodies. Similarly, Robbie explained that experiences stay with those targeted for the rest of their lives, and that the ‘scars’ last forever. Robbie’s description of these impressions as scars is particularly powerful in demonstrating how these experiences can come to etch themselves upon the surface of targeted bodies. It presents how our bodies come to be shaped by the injuries of our experiences and how ‘scars are traces of those injuries that persist in the healing or stitching of the present’ (Ahmed, 2014: 202). Therefore, in the same way that physical violence can leave visible scars, so to can the memories of experiences of hate in relational ways. What is more, the physical scarring of bodies is not final, but continues to change shape and colour depending upon its surroundings and exposures. When exposed to sun, for example, our scars might appear whiter in colour in comparison to a more tanned skin tone. Similarly, when we are cold our scars might appear red in colour as it contrasts with the paler tone of our skin. The appearance of our scarring thus changes in relation to how our body feels but also how it exists within particular environments. For example, certain exposures may cause irritation upon our skin that make visible the condition of eczema. Although eczema may not be visible at all

times, it is always on the surface of our skin, ready to become present again when we are exposed to those risky environments.

By attending to the ways that the physical scarring of our bodies is subject to change and is at no point, stable nor permanent, we can imagine how the scars that Robbie describes might also change in accordance to how we feel, where we are, and who we are with. As our minds and bodies respond to *being* within different spaces and at different times, these scars might become particularly marked and distinct, or less pronounced. As Ahmed (2014: 57) suggests, 'the "doing" of hate is not simply "done" in the moment of its articulation' but continues to circulate as it becomes sealed within the bodies of those who become objects of hate. Indeed, as a result of the continuous transformation of these psychological scars, there is at once an ongoing circulation of emotion which moves within the mind and body as a chain of affects (Ahmed, 2014). We can conceive of this chain as a relational process whereby the worlds of the other figure are made and unmade according to their spatial and temporal location. In the reflections of participants, this 'undoing' of identity became clear as they made sense of how they had come to feel about themselves; specifically how their sense of identity as belonging (or not) within the surrounding world. For Joe, the accumulation of incidents had diminished his sense of belonging within shared public spaces. He described the internal questioning '*why am I here? I'm not worth it, why am I here?.*' Such questioning can

dislodge you from a body that you yourself feel you reside in. Once you have been asked these questions, you wait for them; waiting to be dislodged changes your relation to the lodge (Ahmed, 2017: 122).

In turn, many participants commented on the questioning of their own identity, and in particular, the process of self-blame as their own identity failed to meet societal expectations. Based upon the comments made by his Grandfather about his identity, Francis Emerson asked, '*it makes me doubt, am I a bad person? I didn't choose to be like this, am I going to burn in hell?*' The questioning that Francis Emerson shares in the extract above demonstrates a process of self-blame. The complexity of his identity, and how it is encountered by those around him, demonstrates the way in which 'our sense of self is shaped by and through our relations with others' (Gorton, 2007: 339).

Indeed, the way in which we come to *do* and *undo* our identity is spatially and contextually located.

The undoing of identity was also expressed by Beater following ongoing experiences of abuse within her local neighbourhood. In her case, the undoing of identity was described as a loss; '*you used to be proud of who you are and now you're more in yourself.*' By becoming '*more in yourself*' Beater describes a process of concealment, whereby she feels the need to hide her sexual orientation around others. Beater referred to concealment in her mood-boards, both in terms of '*hiding away*' to avoid confrontation, but also in the form of self-questioning '*why and who I am*' (Figure 21). Indeed, her identity comes to be spatially restricted, as it is confined within the boundaries of her home. These feelings 'constitute a compulsion to check one's own behaviour, and to enforce a conformity on oneself with what the subject feels to be appropriate standards' (Lyon & Barboulet, 1994: 49).

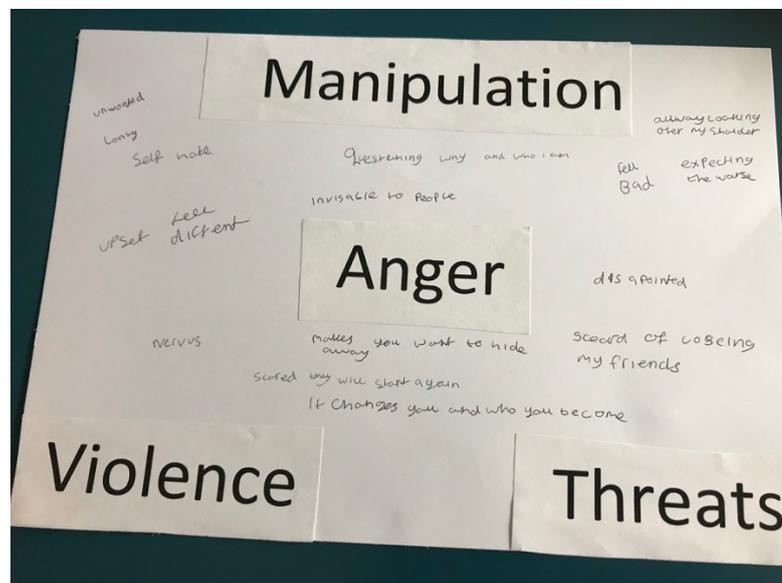


Figure 21 Beater

Not only is Beater's identity called into question through these experiences of hate, but they shape the way in which she occupies her surrounding world and specifically how comfortable she feels about herself. Kezza also emphasised this on her mood board writing '*the only way out was to VANISH*' (Figure 16). These reflections allude to the performative nature of our selves when we are occupying particular social spaces. This performance can be seen as a means of making our identity in relation to how we feel we should or should not *be* in our surrounding environment. Like Beater,

Francis Emerson commented upon the sense of performativity, within which he comes to '*pass*' as a means of moving through our surrounding space. Passing, for Francis Emerson, requires the concealment of those identities that may be perceived as too '*bold*' and reveals the complexity of identity-work when occupying social spaces.

In his dramaturgical approach to social encounters, Goffman explores the complex navigations that we make when encountering others. His work describes how:

The individual in ordinary work situations presents him[/her]self and his[/her] activity to others, the ways in which he[/she] guides and controls the impression they form of him[/her], and the kinds of things he[/she] may and may not do while sustaining his[/her] performance before them (Goffman, 1959: preface).

Illustrating a clear distinction between our front-stage and back-stage actions, Goffman highlights the intricate manipulation of bodies in relation to the social contexts they are found to be within. For example, we may refer to 'body gloss' as a form of *passing* which is described by both Beater and Francis Emerson above. Occupying this state, bodies *pass* by disclosing little information (Goffman, 1971). Thus, in a bid to avoid encounters of hate, disabled people may:

Attempt to correct his[/her] condition indirectly by devoting much private effort to the mastery of areas of activity ordinarily felt to be closed on incidental and physical grounds to one with his[/her] shortcomings (Goffman, 1963:20).

Alternatively, avoiding encounters of hate, and indeed, navigating them successfully, can involve the *doing*, rather than *undoing* of identity. For example, as I mentioned earlier, Rose described wearing a '*poker face*' and a '*brave face*' around others, despite crying on the inside. Similarly, Sapphire explained how her identity is constructed as a means of conforming to normative standards and increasing her self-confidence:

I wear my make-up because I feel like putting on a character is better. When I don't wear make-up I don't feel confident. The make-up is my character, to hide all the insecurities

As Sapphire describes, make-up becomes a way of *doing* identity. It provides a character that helps her to *be* within surrounding space, and feel confident and secure within herself. This mask thus creates a particular character that she performs whilst moving within social space. Whilst this provides a momentary release from her lack of confidence, it demonstrates the time and energy required by Sapphire to perform in the ways that she considers necessary to pass. The expenditure of additional time, energy and, finances was suggested by many participants throughout the research. In the next section, I explore the different ways that this labour is enacted, and reflect upon the intricate ways that our bodies occupy spaces in order to *be* within them.

Additional labour: ‘*it just gets very tiring*’

The *doing* and *undoing* of identity, however this process unravels, requires time, energy, and intricate navigation of the social world for those who are positioned on the peripheries of society. Porta et al (2015: 2) describe these precarious positions as ‘rugged terrains’ whereby:

every step must be carefully preconceived and decisively taken and, even then, one can never be certain that s/he has firm ground under his or her feet

In this section, I discuss some of the navigational strategies described by participants, and recognise how these can become time-consuming and burdensome to everyday life. These strategies include avoidance, additional planning, and financial expense in order to manage the perception and risk of encountering hate. Significantly, the fear of experiencing hate was suggested to be particularly exhausting due to its incessant presence within many of the everyday public spaces that participants were likely to occupy. For example, Dr Who described the nervousness that he experiences when occupying public space:

Your stress level goes up, your blood pressure goes up, every time you start looking around. Everything's oh ah, and you're a bit scared talking to other people because you stress out day in and day out

We can understand these feelings of nervousness and paranoia as circulating within public spaces, and becoming stuck upon certain figures due to previous encounters. This sense of fear can be read in Dr Who's excerpt above, which alludes to the incessant, messy and disorienting nature of uncertainty. Fear of the unknown was similarly captured upon Arnold's mood-board where he refers to 'tales of the unexpected' can 'change your life' (Figure 22).



Figure 22 Arnold

Feelings of fear and uncertainty shape how we situate ourselves within our surrounding world, as it is through feelings that we come to make sense of the spaces around us (Davidson & Milligan, 2004). The feeling of fear described above thus constitutes an understanding of public spaces as dangerous and undesirable. As I have already discussed in this chapter, it is important to recognise the longevity of these harms long after events have occurred. What is more, these harms materialise as exclusionary barriers beyond the initial victim, and towards whole communities (Bell & Perry 2015). As Francis Emerson explained:

The effects of hate crime, not just towards myself but towards other people who are in the same communities, is the fear even when people aren't doing it, like not being open and so forth, not going to the bathrooms

These long-lasting anxieties are recognised in Iganski's (2008) 'waves of harm' model, which presents the harms of hate speech as they operate not simply on a personal level, but move to cause social and cultural harms. Hate incidents send out a terroristic message that certain people are unwelcome (Iganski 2006) while simultaneously invigorating a cultural tolerance to discrimination (Nemes 2002). This wider approach to perceiving harms takes into account the way in which marked boundaries between 'us' and 'them' come to be experienced within the everyday lives of particularly marginalized groups. As I outlined in chapter three and five, part of the work of hate is to frame these affective economies that homogenize others as a perceived threat or danger, which come to be stuck upon representative bodies. As a result, individuals that identify with marginalized groups may be subject to 'locational imprisonment', that is, feeling unable to move within certain spaces due to the fear of being targeted (Iganski 2006). In the next section, I outline some of the ways that participants described negotiating this sense of locational imprisonment within the routines of their everyday lives.

Locational Imprisonment and strategies of avoidance: *'I can't be bothered with the hassle'*

'Locational imprisonment' is a useful concept when thinking about the wider impacts of hate experiences, and how they come to circulate and stick to particular bodies. Moving beyond the materiality of space as either physically accessible or inaccessible, a consideration of how we feel within these spaces attends to barriers that are exercised on a more intimate and personal level. As Harry described:

Every time we go out it would be like, we're probably gonna have to deal with it. Sometimes you don't want to bother with it so you don't end up going somewhere. Explicitly or implicitly, it drives you out of those spaces

Harry details some of the ongoing thought processes involved with the way in which he comes to navigate and experience the surrounding world. The decision to occupy certain spaces are levied against the perceived risk of *being* in that space. Beater also

referred to these thought processes on her mood-board, describing that she is ‘*always looking over my shoulder*’ because she is ‘*scared they will start again*’ (Figure 21). The *choice* to occupy certain spaces is not neutral, then, but part of a complex process of navigation and organization that some bodies must manage more regularly than others. Indeed, for Harry and Beater, the decision to occupy particular spaces requires a high level of concentration and anxiety. The labour associated with these additional considerations was similarly highlighted on Mr Positive’s mood-board, which makes reference to ‘*dilemmas*’ and ‘*a relentless challenge.*’ (Figure 23).



Figure 23 Mr Positive 2

During his interview, Francis Emerson described the dilemmas that he experiences when using public bathrooms due to the paranoia and ‘*paralysing fear*’ of being questioned. In order to avoid these interactions, he explained having to organize the spatial and temporal routine of his day to ensure that he could access a gender-neutral and accessible toilet, or avoid using toilet facilities at all. In doing so, Francis Emerson describes an intimate level of self-regulation in accordance to his surroundings.

Both gender and disability are increasingly ‘*policed*’ when using toilets, adding fuel to both transphobia and disablism in the lives of trans and/or disabled people (Slater & Jones, 2018). Toilets, for Francis Emerson are therefore perceived as particularly risky and troublesome spaces that he has to actively manage or avoid. Doria Skadinski

described similar experiences of avoidance in relation to toilet facilities due to the anxiety-inducing effects of shared toilet cubicles. Doria Skadinski described having invisible impairments, which could often mean that she would be challenged when accessing 'accessible' toilet spaces. As already discussed in chapter five and six, these designated spaces are often subject to debate and confrontation about who should, and should not, occupy them. The perceived risk of confrontation thus creates symbolic barriers to physically accessible toilet spaces and therefore denies many disabled and trans people (and many others) access to the everyday, taken-for-granted toilet space (Kitchin & Law, 2001). These symbolic exclusions are important to note, as they often inform how people come to experience their surrounding world, and how they choose to navigate it.

The avoidance of mundane facilities, such as the toilet, can contribute to feelings of worthlessness and exclusion (Slater & Jones, 2018). And, as it has been discussed, these feelings are felt beyond the temporal locale of the incident, impacting many more members of the 'victims' social group (Craig, 2003). Evident in the reflections of Francis Emerson above, the fear of using these social spaces due to the risk of confrontation and abuse sends the message that these spaces are not for *them*. Whether this fear is based upon prior experience or the stories of others, it demonstrates a clear impression whereby bodies come to be felt as out-of-place. As Ahmed (2014: 11) describes 'what moves us, what makes us feel, is also that which holds us in place, or gives us a dwelling.' That is, our feelings associated with specific spaces, such as toilets, determine how we come to be held within this and other spaces, both in the present and in the future. Emotions affect the substance of our past, present, and future (Davidson & Bondi, 2004). It is that which 'sticks' that enables the circulation of objects of emotion to exist, even where encounters between humans do not take place. It is the movement of emotions within these mundane spaces, and in particular, the way in which our bodies are historically (dis)located from these, that comes to shape how we move. This movement of emotions serves to surface collective bodies as excluded and unwelcome; or, as Perry & Alvi (2011) call, 'distal victims.' What 'sticks' comes to shape how we anticipate social encounters within particular spaces, and therefore, how we do, or do not, situate ourselves within them.

Anticipation, here, operates as a navigational strategy that participants use as a means of organising their day-to-day lives, such as when they choose to move within everyday spaces. For some participants, access to public spaces such as shopping centres and public transport was dependent upon time and context. For example, Doria Skadinski spoke about her weekly meet-ups with peer groups and local organizations, including going to restaurants, the cinema, and shopping. While she enjoyed these activities and recognised how they have helped her mental health, her engagement with them was temporally organized in order to avoid encounters with school children, and rush hour. During school holidays, she stopped attending these groups due to the increased number of school-aged children occupying these spaces. Kelly-Marie also avoided using the bus around school closing times due to the number of children. Informed by their own histories, then, these spaces are assessed by Doria Skadinski and Kelly-Marie as particularly risky. Navigation thus becomes a necessary task. In chapter eight, I will reflect upon some of these navigational strategies as potential moments of resistance and agency. For now, however, I think about these strategies as responses to the internalisation of oppression. Indeed, by organising their presence within public spaces in relation to the risks presented by others, it could be argued that individuals have come to live their life through the disablism they have experienced. This could be suggested to limit one's agency through the 'constriction and selective intensification of geographical life-spaces' (Rowles, 1978 cited in Davidson & Milligan 2004).

The concept of 'locational imprisonment' is, therefore, a useful tool for thinking about how certain spaces come to be seen as safe or dangerous based upon how we have been affected within them before. It helps us to think about how some figures might become 'stuck' in (or outside of) certain places as a means of avoiding becoming 'stuck' as the objects of hate. The way in which emotions come to be 'stuck' onto certain figures, and indeed, how these emotions circulate in some spaces and not others, demonstrates how some figures choose to navigate these circulations as a means of self-preservation and protection. For some participants, managing these experiences involved increasing degrees of isolation to the private domain of their own homes in order to avoid the '*hassle*' and '*grief*' associated with public spaces. While in these circumstances we can understand the home as a place of safety, it is important to remember that this is not experienced voluntarily, but as a means of

avoiding unwanted behaviour in public. Furthermore, although these proactive tactics can offer moments of rest bite from hate encounters, it is important to note that ‘such spatial and temporal self-isolation can further limit opportunities for social encounters and can heighten perceived vulnerability’ (Hall & Bates, 2019: 105).

For Doria Skadinski and her son, isolation within their own home had become both a necessity and a challenge. Following months of ongoing incidents targeting them, they had stopped leaving their house and Doria Skadinski admitted becoming increasingly suicidal. She reflected upon her first visit from Victim Support who were shocked at the conditions Doria Skadinski and her son were living in:

Victim support were quite shocked when they came to the home, because we had the windows closed, they could tell we hadn't been out. Like we didn't know when the bus ran, you know we weren't going out anywhere, my son was struggling to go to college, I was struggling to get my medication

Again, in this extract Doria Skadinski alludes to the psycho-emotional harms of hate experiences; how these encounters came to impress upon her everyday experiences. The home is described as a place of safety as well as confinement. The sense of imprisonment is described in terms of the physical presence of perpetrators outside of her home, but also the way in which she had come to place barriers upon herself which was being contained within the home. Staying at home had become a preferred option in order to avoid continuing experiences of abuse and intimidation (Wilkin, 2019). Indeed, her inability to collect medication is likely to have further impacted her mental and physical wellbeing. Despite the growing isolation and discomfort, then, her internalisation of anxiety and fear had necessitated the need for this strategy of avoidance (Rinaldi et al, 2019).

As a means of moving forward from these experiences, Doria Skadinski described the long process of learning to live in her house again and feeling more comfortable moving around public spaces.

We had to change bedrooms, we had to get security, think about how we were going to sleep on a night again, how we were going to leave the house again. It was months and months of work

As Doria Skadinski describes above, overcoming her experiences was laborious and time-consuming. In order to learn to live in their home, both her and her son took on the responsibility of recovery. In the final section of this chapter, I continue to explore these laboured navigations which are described as ordinary parts of everyday life for many disabled people.

Laboured navigations: ‘you’re constantly fighting a brick wall’

In the section above, I have shared strategies of avoidance that have been utilised by participants as a means of organising their social life and attempting to prevent hate experiences. In the following section, I develop this discussion further by exploring some of the thought processes that participants shared as a means of helping them to navigate encounters and pass through social space. Indeed, the narratives offered by participants reveal the extensive and intimate thought processes that shape how participants choose to *be* in their surrounding space and respond to their experiences. For many, this involves making difficult decisions on whether to challenge hateful encounters, or to accept these as what Francis Emerson referred to as ‘*part of the package*’ of being disabled.

Many participants commented upon the frank nature of conversations that they were drawn into, often revolving around particularly personal topics. For example, as I discussed in chapter six, participants were regularly asked questions about the authenticity and/or nature of their impairment, their ability to complete mundane tasks, or their sexual activity. For example, Harry was regularly asked about his ability to engage with intimate and sexual relationships:

You mustn’t be in a relationship, things like, oh cause you’re a virgin, cause you’ve never had sex ... and I think it is really offensive and almost hateful about that in particular is the implied meaning of that, well of course you’re not attractive enough or desirable enough

In all accounts, these types of conversations are both intrusive and personal. More specifically think about Harry's example above, we can interpret such questioning as representative of widespread attitudes towards disabled people as sexually undesirable and physically unattractive (Gomez, 2012). While these encounters were extremely uncomfortable for Harry, he explained that he rarely challenged them:

People don't like being challenged because I think in their heads they see you and have this idea in their head that I'm helpless and that's again why they think they can ask them questions

Like many participants, challenging these everyday encounters is described as a laborious and therefore, largely avoided task. At the same time, Harry's explanation provides a useful insight into the way that non-disabled people respond to disabled people, particularly during those moments where they do challenge harmful narratives. This was shared by participants during both workshops and interviews who commented upon the difficulty in engaging non-disabled people with narratives that challenge stereotypes of inability, vulnerability, and inferiority. As I explored in chapter five, non-disabled people rely upon disabled people as a means of ensuring their sense of self. As a result, many participants had come to accept intrusive questioning about disability as part of their everyday lives. According to Robbie, difficulty challenging these encounters is particularly prevalent for people with learning difficulties, who might also struggle with self-confidence more generally.

The tension between accepting these experiences and challenging them directly is an ongoing labour that many participants reflected upon. While this is difficult to negotiate within the moment, some participants continued to reflect upon the decision made long after the incident occurred. This tension is described by Francis Emerson:

I've always wanted for myself to be resistant in the face of oppression, and I know that is something that I want to see myself, bold about who I am and open about who I am, but part of that I feel is a little bit self-delusional because even though I like to think I'm that and although I do certain things like that I still very much try to pass

Captured in the above quotation, Francis Emerson shares the conflicting thought processes he experiences when attempting to make sense of his own responses to hateful encounters. The desire to be 'resistant' is levied against the desire to pass with minimal exposure to risk and unwanted attention. The desire to pass, rather than directly confront hateful encounters, is not taken lightly by Francis Emerson. While this discomfort was shared by many participants, it was also recognised that confrontation was not always the desirable outcome. Given the reluctance of others to think differently about disability, the process of challenging others is suggested to be a tiring and largely unsuccessful project. For Ellie, this process becomes repetitive and continues to position disabled people as accountable for changing attitudes, rather than non-disabled people who hold these:

Why should we have to always have the same conversation? Society should be adapting with us, not you know, lagging 5 paces behind. We shouldn't have to constantly push it in their faces, they should just accept that it is part of society and we are also part of society and we have the same rights as they do

As Ellie argues above, the incessant cycle of questioning, justification, and inaccessibility is laborious. Similarly, Harry and Betty explained that any attempt to engage with others and challenge their opinions is exhausting, particularly when this is so often met with resistance to the resistance to change their attitudes.

While challenging others can be considered as a form of self-empowerment and resistance (see chapter eight), it is important to acknowledge the labour that is attached to this. Indeed, such encounters require an investment of energy and confidence that not all participants felt able to offer. As a result, many participants chose to ignore incidents that happened to them, rather than actively challenge these in the moment (Wilkin, 2019). A further point of consideration made by participants was the risk of escalating situations to become more uncomfortable, or potentially dangerous. Thus, confrontation not only requires emotional and physical energy, but a quick assessment of the safety and risks of doing so. According to research, fear of any such escalation prevents many disabled people from challenging incidents as and when they occur (Brookes & Cain, 2015). An awareness of this risk was shared among many

participants when discussing their inability to challenge hateful encounters due to the fear of experiencing ‘reprisals’ (John Taylor). For example, Betty described the tension between wanting to challenge others, whilst also protecting herself against further abuse:

I should stick up for myself more, but then that means that I get myself in situations where people are coming at me more with all this abuse

The decision not to challenge hate incidents as they occurred was shared by most of the participants as a means of ensuring their own protection. Robbie explained that for many people with learning difficulties, it is easier to ‘do nothing’ while Michael described doing his ‘own thing’ and simply ‘brushing it off’ rather than risk further harm. While these responses are seen to prevent the escalation of incidents, earlier reflections upon long-lasting harms such as low self-esteem and isolation are more likely to occur where incidents are not challenged or reported.

For Delboy and John Dovet, the decision not to challenge or report their experiences was made for them by the perpetrators. During the workshops, these participants explained that they had been threatened by their perpetrators. According to John Dovet, for example, ‘bullies’ had told him ‘if you tell anyone you’ll get it worse.’ In these cases, then, accepting encounters of hate can seem like the only viable option. Although the decision to not report incidents of hate crime continues to limit the ability of statistics to capture a realistic representation of instances, it is important to recognise these decisions within their surrounding context. As I have shown in this chapter, hate crimes are affective and impact those targeted in a range of complex and changing ways. In some cases, the internalisation of oppression can present barriers to recognising and reporting experiences, while in others, circumstances can mean that reporting is not a viable and safe option. Indeed, although not directly related to threatening behaviour, Harry commented upon the tension between wanting to educate others (and thus challenge hateful encounters) and recognising where such attempts are likely to be unsuccessful:

Some of the experiences I’ve had like, it wouldn’t be beneficial to engage with them in the moment but as long as I, at some point acknowledge what has

happened and it registers at least on some level then I feel like it's a lot healthier ... I'm challenging it in my own mind which I think actually is quite important

In this extract, Harry reflects upon the decisions he makes in relation to when and when not to challenge hate experiences. By making these decisions, and thus choosing to act or respond in particular ways, Harry exemplifies his unique knowledge of the surrounding world, and ability to affect the subjects and objects surrounding him. As Tom described, the decision to move past an encounter, rather than forcibly challenge it, can be perceived as the only answer. While this might not be the most disruptive response, it nevertheless reflects his ability to make a decision based upon his own previous knowledge.

When considering these reflections, then, it is unsurprising that nearly all participants expressed significant reluctance to report hate crime. Particularly given the small percentage of reports that result in successful prosecution, the work required and risks associated with reporting incidents often outweigh the perceived benefits. This pay off was simply not worth it for Harry, who discussed the long process of reporting, and chance that it would just *'end up on a pile somewhere and nobody's gonna look at it.'* Navigating these experiences therefore involves the organization of one's own behaviour based upon the perception of how others are likely to behave. These decisions demonstrate a level of emotional labour, to which disabled people come to *know* unique knowledge of the world around them. According to this knowledge, participants make informed decisions about how to respond during unfolding encounters. This demonstrates how based upon the spatial and temporal significance of previous experiences, we come to make informed decisions on how to *be* in the present.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explored some of the ways that hate comes to impress upon participants. In particular, I have reflected upon how experiences of hate can shape one's sense of self and identity, and thus how they come to make sense of hate encounters. For many participants, these impressions are long-lasting as they come to define their embodied histories. These embodied histories shape how participants

have, do, and will occupy the spaces around them and have relations with others. Psycho-emotional disablism has provided a theoretical framework for making sense of these *impressions* and how they come to shape the way in which one comes to see themselves within their surrounding world. For many of the participants in this research, impressions of hate have involved the internalisation of oppression, whereby they have come to see themselves negatively through the stigmas directed towards them. As participants suggested in their reflections, this internalisation has resulted in changes to the way in which they navigate taken-for-granted public space in their day-to-day lives.

Navigation of social space has included strategies such as time management, avoidance and the continual assessment of situations. For example, many participants described avoiding public transport during certain times of the day, whilst others drew upon the home as a space of safety. In this way, impressions of hate can be suggested to limit what people can do (Reeve, 2014) in accordance to how they organize their own time and space as a means of avoiding confrontation. Crucially, the way in which participants described navigating their lives in this way presented a significant degree of additional labour. Additional labour refers to the time and energy that participants described investing in the management of their day-to-day activities in order to pass through public space successfully. In addition, the way in which participants suggest navigating experiences of hate reveals a sense of fear and insecurity on a more intimate level which ultimately prevents them from actively and directly challenging these encounters. Whilst in the next section, I present some of the ways that participants actively resist experiences of hate, it remains the case that protecting oneself often involves accepting rather than directly confronting hate.

It is also important to recognise the many ways, both big and small, that disabled people have and will continue to resist disablist oppression in the many forms that it exists. Indeed, throughout this research, and in particular, during the workshops, participants were clear that they wanted to share their experiences of hate as well as working collectively to challenge this. In this way, their embodied histories come to shape different ways of being that are naturally more resistive to oppression:

We are never finished with the past. Just as the past provides us comfort in the present, the present can help to make meaning of the past. The stories that haunt us create a path to meaning. They are the place in which we need to dwell (Rashotte, 2005: 36)

In the final chapter of analysis, I consider these dwellings, and the ways that the development of navigational strategies, and organizational routines might constitute a resistive state of being.

Chapter 8

Everyday resistance: navigating and responding to hate

In the previous chapter, I discussed the ways in which experiences of hate can come to shape and define our present and future selves. Such an understanding considers the intimate ways that hate can harm individuals, particularly in relation to how they see themselves within their surrounding world. While greater awareness of these harms is fundamental, it is equally important to present the intricate ways that experiences of hate are managed and challenged within the context of everyday life. Amongst a range of barriers experienced by disabled people, exists a wide array of desires, creativities, and unique knowledge bases' that are enacted through careful navigation. In this final chapter of analysis, then, I will explore some of the strategies and techniques that participants have developed as a means of managing, navigating, and challenging their experiences of hate. In doing so, I propose that occupying precarious positions offers a unique perspective of *being* and navigating the world. Following this, I consider the educational encounters that participants have engaged with, many of which focus upon challenging negative attitudes towards disability. In particular, this section focuses upon the opportunity for greater engagement with schools and the value of honest and open conversations between disabled and non-disabled people. Finally, I reflect upon the potential for collective resistance, drawing upon examples and suggestions shared by participants throughout the research process. This includes reflections upon the role of disabled people's organizations (DPOs), impairment-specific organizations, and peer support groups, particularly in relation to the sense of collectivity and collaboration that they can harness.

Navigational Strategies: safe spaces and management techniques:

'we're developing a bit of an accessibility plan around this'

By calling attention to moments of navigation, self-empowerment and ownership, it is recognised that 'the bodily self's interaction with his/her environment can either increase or decrease that body's *conatus* or *potential*' (Braidotti, 2006: 241). From this perspective, in the same way that everyday hate can become a part of day-to-day life, so to can subtle forms of resistance and self-empowerment. Developing from the previous chapter that presented the ways in which our affective capacity might be limited, the following chapter highlights moments of resistance. Following Wetherell

et al (2020: 18), I call for a consideration of ‘how people make sense of their circumstances and negotiate and initiate patterns of activity in concert with others.’ Such an approach takes into account the ways in which we are affected by, and go on to affect, our surrounding worlds. In doing so, it is possible to ask questions about our affective capacity to address and combat the harsh realities of oppressive environments (Pillan et al, 2017) by drawing attention to the strategies that we develop.

In this section, I explore the strategies and techniques that participants have developed in order to navigate their own experiences of oppression. These strategies range from finding and harnessing safe spaces, to subtle moments of resistance and management, all of which present unique ways of being in, and knowing our surrounding world. The strategies shared by participants can be read as an attempt at ‘forging a *polis* out of exteriority’ within which ‘the out-of-place might also be a site from which to transform politics’ (Fanghanek, 2019:16). According to Porta et al (2015: 3; See also Be, 2019), ‘precarization always leaves some freedom for positive action for its subjects.’ That is to say, the positioning of bodies on the peripheries of society creates a unique experience about living and *being* within certain time-spaces. Indeed, it calls for a consideration of the diverse ways of being in, and navigating, the world around us. As Davidson & Milligan (2004: 524-5) write:

In some cases the emotional pain, the frustrations and humiliations experienced may nonetheless work as an incentive toward activism and perhaps enable a different sense of achievement

Our past experiences shape how we approach and navigate situations in the present. For many participants in this research, these past experiences have enabled them to develop a more calculated approach to how they choose to navigate particular spaces, or engage within certain encounters. One of the primary approaches adopted was the establishment of ‘safe’ spaces, as opposed to those where the circulation of hate is believed to be particularly heightened. These ‘safe’ spaces were diverse. For example, Lynn reported having an online and offline presence within the gaming community, as well as regularly attending music events which feature heavy-rock female lead singers. Despite the risks associated with long-haul travel, particularly following some

of her experiences on public transport that were discussed in chapter six, Lynn explained that she had travelled internationally to attend some of these events. Despite the potential risks of travelling, then, these spaces offer Lynn the sense of community and safety. In addition, Maisie discussed her recent membership to a choir group on a Monday evening, despite her usual desire for a quiet and structured evening routine within her home. Thus, whilst attending the choir disrupts her usual routine, it offers her an alternative safe space to spend the evening that is outside of her family home. In the examples above, both Lynn and Maisie can be thought to have affirmed their presence within different spaces in spite of the potential risks that these raise. Presence, in these examples, is a choice that is informed by our unique histories.

The relationality of experience is similarly evident when considering the processes that underpin the everyday decisions made by disabled people about the spaces they feel comfortable within. For example, Robbie enjoyed spending time at the cinema as it allowed him the time to *be* with his partner as a couple, yet doing so required navigation. Robbie explained that the cinema closest to them was often full of teenagers, and therefore considered to be a riskier space. As a result, Robbie and his partner chose to travel to a cinema that is further away and is also more expensive. While this decision ultimately requires additional time and financial labour, it presents the way in which they navigate their surroundings so they are able to enjoy the spaces that they occupy. In a similar way, Doria Skadinski described the range of weekly activities and meet-ups that she is involved with, including writing clubs, going for meals, and peer-support groups. These activities appeared to be important for her, ensuring that she did not become isolated again and instead had a supportive community around her. As discussed in chapter seven, however, these support groups are subject to the temporal rhythm of others. She explained that during school holidays, the presence of children and young adults within these social spaces (cinemas, cafes, shopping centres etc.) often meant that meet-ups would be cancelled, or re-arranged. According to Pritchard (2020: 123) avoidance strategies such as that described by Doria Skadinski show how ‘the negotiation of space represents power ... [and] demonstrates inferiority.’ Indeed, the avoidance of particular time-spaces exemplifies how oppression can take shape on the surfaces of marginalized bodies, causing them to exist only in those time-spaces perceived as safe. At the same time,

choosing where and when we occupy space can also be read as a coping strategy developed in order to make socialisation more manageable (Forster & Pearson, 2020).

Being able to choose how, where, and when to occupy different spaces shows the relationality of encounters that can otherwise be read as solely oppressive and pre-determined. A consideration of our bodies and space as relational calls attention to understanding these navigational strategies as insightful resources that are crucial to widening our understanding of humanity (Siebers, 2015). In order to think analytically about the different types of navigation and resistance that Lynn, Robbie, Maisie and Doria Skadinski have shared above, Tobin Siebers' concept of complex embodiment is useful to consider. Complex embodiment considers disability as a body of knowledge (Siebers, 2014) within which, disabled people:

embrace complex embodiment as a means to take on unsuspected forms and to hold them in memory for the possession and use of the disability community (Siebers, 2015:244).

That is, through their unique navigation of, and movement within, society (physically and symbolically), disabled people generate particularly thoughtful understandings of their surrounding world, which can come to critically inform future encounters. In this sense, affective knowledge provides the necessary conditions for affective learning, within which, we come to make new meanings of our experiences (Semetsky, 2009).

At times, the navigational strategies that participants report to adopting can require additional labour. For example, having experienced inaccessibility within the city centre on many occasions, Doria Skadinski has begun to create, '*an accessibility plan*' which she hopes to share within the wider disabled community in her city. This plan sets out to provide an overview of places that are accessible within the city centre, as well as those spots to avoid. Given the overwhelming feeling of being 'out of place' and 'unwelcome' that was discussed in chapter six, an accessibility plan provides people with the knowledge to choose the specific public spaces that they occupy. While taking on this project carries with it the additional labour of time, energy, and resources, Doria Skadinski recognises the long-lasting value of such a resource that could reduce the additional labour of her and others in the future:

Me and my friend spend all our time considering well where can we go to have a drink, where can we go to eat, where do we know that people have been that are really good. So in the city we're developing a bit of an accessibility plan around this. We're gonna make sort of, a plan of the city and what spaces are accessible, based on users.

Through her work towards the development of an 'accessibility plan,' Doria Skadinski is creating a resource that has the potential to inform the future navigations of many people. Indeed, such a resource is so useful due to the real-life experiences of inaccessibility that it is based upon. For many non-disabled people, movement within social space is relatively easy. If a body fits within the normative architecture of environments, accessibility is an absent presence. As Ahmed (2017: 142) contends, 'what is the hardest for some does not even exist for others.' Accessibility is always there for the bodies that environments have been designed for, and so there is no need for it to be acknowledged. On the contrary, Doria Skadinski's plan is '*based on users*' and, therefore, for users. It is through the knowledge and experience of what accessibility means, and how this feels, that an '*accessibility plan*' can be imagined and created. In doing so, an accessibility plan has the potential to disrupt an over-coded space, such as the town centre, in order to make room for bodies that have typically been marked out as other (Fanghanel, 2019). An accessibility plan is therefore a tool that enhances the capacity of disabled people to be present within social space, as this capacity is no longer limited by the risk of inaccessibility.

Understood as coping strategies, decisions on when and where to move enable participants to manage within their surroundings. Other participants shared more intimate '*coping strategies*' (Doria Skadinski), that were operationalised on a personal level between our body and mind, rather than our body and surrounding space. For example, during one of the workshops, members of organization six shared a relaxation technique that included the gentle massaging of the hand which was accompanied by a short song. Delboy described this technique as a means of '*getting it out of you*' which could be suggested to signify the therapeutic benefit of positioning negative experiences outside of the mind and body. In addition, Sally described her enjoyment of therapies that enabled her to reflect and relax, and Brandon spoke about

his engagement with meditation, breathing exercises and yoga. These mind-body exercises can be understood as a means of reducing the experience of self-objectification and self-frustration (Impett et al, 2006) that can arise from hate incidents. In doing so, such practices can help us to tap into and respond to our bodily sensations (Impett et al, 2006) and is therefore suggested to be particularly useful when making sense of our affective capacities. It is important then to make room for these affective capacities, particularly how they can come to be enhanced through oppressive experiences.

While conversations regarding the direct experience of hate could be upsetting, participants recognised the value of making sense of these, and therefore moving forwards. Being able '*keep calm and carry on no matter how hard it is*' (Elvis) is an important demonstration of agency, within which individuals are able to assess situations and employ management control through their emotional intelligence (Salovey and Mayer, 1990). Indeed, by employing strategies that both support their own emotional wellbeing as well as respond to the situations surrounding them, participants demonstrate a unique understanding of others guided by their own feelings (Forgas and Wyland, 2006). Although not directly related to the previously described practices of yoga and self-meditation, other participants described their use of drawing (Rose) and reading (Amanda Depp) as a means of self-comfort and self-preservation. Indeed, Amanda Depp reflected upon her readings of 'Harry Potter' as a technique that helped her to escape from reality as well as avoiding unpleasant interactions with her boss during work breaks. In this way, coping, as it manifests within the individual activities of drawing, reading, and self-meditation, can be understood as individual techniques of self-comfort. While these are resistive strategies that can support the personal wellbeing of individuals, the notion of coping can be developed and understood as more direct expressions of resistance.

The range of coping strategies described above exemplify the techniques that individuals can develop as a means of self-protection and self-preservation. In this, they can support individuals in managing rather than actively confronting experiences of hate. Moving beyond this, the management techniques developed by individuals can also be seen to affectively shape the world around them (just as individuals are affected by their environments). An example of this can be seen in Doria Skadinski's

reflection upon the coping mechanisms she has developed in order to help her '*fit into this non-dyslexic world.*' These techniques included advising new people that she would be unable to remember their name based upon facial recognition, choosing to take a taxi over the bus during evenings, and proactively researching the accessibility of potential spaces of inclusion. Again, although such strategies involve a high degree of organizational and emotional labour, they equally demonstrate her knowledge of the surrounding world, and ability to shape this according to her own needs and desires. In another example, John Taylor discussed his use of humour as a tool for preserving his sense of self and taking ownership of potentially oppressive experiences. He described '*laughing off*' hateful experiences, particularly those everyday encounters such as name-calling. As I have documented before (Burch, 2020a), humour is considered to offer a unique, and perhaps, contentious approach to challenging experiences of hate and oppression (Sorensen, 2008). Having a laugh, or taking part in a joke (Joe) could be considered as a form of presenting a version of the 'self' that is not reflexive of the identity imposed, but rather than one that the individual chooses to perform (Kavisto & Pittman, 2012). Whatever type of performance this equates to, it exemplifies how our affective capacities are shaped by the context that we are situated within, which in turn, affects this space in relation to how we choose to *be*. How we choose to *be* is dependent upon the different management techniques that are brought to the surface during these encounters.

By considering the different strategies that participants employ in order to protect and preserve their sense of self, and to help them navigate potentially oppressive experiences, it is possible to call attention to how participants shape, as well as are shaped by, their surrounding environments. While these avoidance strategies might typically be considered as oppressive (Pritchard, 2020), we can also interpret these as examples of how the complex embodiment of disability comes to be lived and experienced. When navigating experiences of oppression then, the affective capacity of disabled people can come to be enhanced, as they work towards the management of these incidents. In doing so, it is important to recognise the often intricate and subtle forms of resistance that are enacted within the context of everyday life.

Subtle forms of resistance: '*keep calm and carry on*'

The strategies shared above exemplify the affective capacity of participants to navigate and manage experiences of hate. The knowledge that it takes to enact these

capacities, and the thought-processes involved with navigation can be read as examples of subtle resistance. To recognise navigational strategies as moments of resistance is to explore ‘what these minor acts of refusal can tell us about the play of affect in social life’ (Wetherell et al 2020: 13). With this in mind, it is important to open up a space whereby these everyday forms of resistance can be awarded recognition and appreciation. Following Johanssen and Vinthagen (2020), everyday resistance is inclusive of a range of activities:

resistance can be many different things, even mundane kind of practices of accommodation and non-confrontation, and that resistance can be integrated into our daily life in a way that makes it almost unrecognized

Taking into account the ways that resistance becomes a part of everyday life is important to signify how our presence within, and navigation of social space, are always part of an ongoing process of survival.

For some participants, resistance was apparent in their refusal to internalise the negative attitudes of others. Alex, for example, highlighted the need to ‘*bounce back from these things and you don’t let nothing stand in your way.*’ Similarly, Elvis explained ‘*it’s their problem if they don’t like how you are, or how you do things*’ and Joe refused to dwell on the attitudes of others: ‘*I’m not gonna lose sleep over it because you don’t like me.*’ These responses present a refusal to internalise the negative attitudes imposed by others, and to instead take ownership of how they see themselves. Sinead shared a range of moments of refusal whilst making her mood-board, identifying herself as ‘*fearless,*’ ‘*brave,*’ ‘*kind,*’ ‘*feisty,*’ ‘*caring,*’ and a ‘*survivor*’ (Figure 24). Indeed, while she used her mood-board to share her experiences of hate, she equally made it a space to refuse oppression and share alternative reflections about herself.

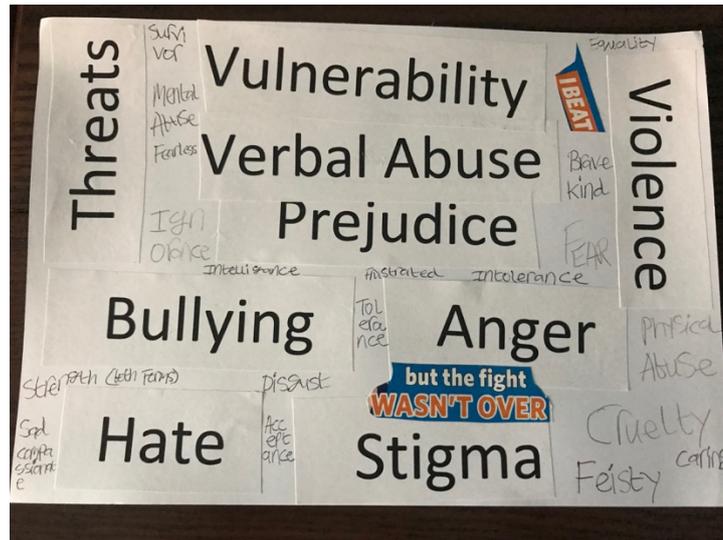


Figure 24 Sinead

This refusal does not suggest that Sinead is unaffected by her experiences of hate, but that reflection has enabled her to respond to these in more affectively resistant ways. Thus, it is through the endurance of these encounters that resistance becomes possible (Pillen et al, 2017). Again, that is not to say that resistance is determined in advance, but that, given the time, space, and context, it becomes a possibility.

Resistance is a process that is constantly in flux as we encounter the changing world around us. In some cases, these acts of refusal can occur long after hate encounters have taken place. That is, resistance can be found within the very act of surviving; continuing to live and *be* following experiences of abuse (Kelly, 1988). For example, Sinead and John Dovet spoke about feeling like ‘*survivors*’ because they ‘*didn’t give up despite the fact we were abused.*’ By identifying as ‘*survivors*’ both Sinead and John Dovet can be seen to have gained strength and self-empowerment through the process of overcoming hateful encounters (RTI International, 2020). Sabrina also related to the label of survivor, adding that she had become a ‘*champion*’ for other people with learning difficulties as a result of overcoming her own hate experiences. The act of, and indeed, identification with the notion of survival suggests a degree of defiance, where individuals are enacting their refusal to become identified through experiences of oppression. Indeed, the adoption of ‘*survivor*’ as an alternative to ‘*victim*’ has gained traction in the effort to recognise resistance and resilience, rather than assumptions of weakness (Jordan, 2005). By identifying as survivors, then, individuals continue to forge their own identities and define their own futures. When

thinking about survival and defiance, it again asks us to recognise the relationality of people's experiences, and how they come to *be*, in whatever way this is, in these moments. It presents the mutual relations that exist between individuals and their surrounding worlds.

Following hateful encounters, there are moments where individuals recognise their ability to '*bounce back*' (Alex). Bouncing back is an act of refusal which ultimately comes to resist the oppressive nature of hate encounters and in turn, enables individuals to *be* and exist in new and more assertive ways. Again, this resistance might be enacted in the moment of oppression, but can also be realized once the individual has had the time and space to recuperate and reflect. For example, Fifi recounted the moment that she began to resist and refuse the emotional and physical abuse she had been subjected to by her ex-husband. In a powerful moment of resistance, she described:

I want to get my own life back together. I don't want someone telling me I can't do it. I'm 65... I looked in the mirror and thought, you're gonna have to do something ... it's about time I did something, start sticking up for myself

For Fifi, then, resistance is evident in the decision to take ownership of her life (Kelly, 1988), and thus regain the power that her ex-husband (and, during her childhood, her father) had previously held. Fifi described the moment that she confronted her ex-husband as a *snap* (See Ahmed 2017). No longer able to undergo her ex-husband's behaviour, she describes this moment as a breaking point. Taking back her home, beginning to cook for herself again, and working towards a settled bedtime routine all signal the resistance that Fifi now exerts within the context of her everyday life. Yet it also illustrates that this *snap* is a moment of refusal against a long history of being controlled by toxic male figures within her life (See chapter 6). As Ahmed (2017: 190) describes, 'a snap might seem sudden but the suddenness is only apparent; a snap is one moment of a longer history of being affected by what you come up against.' Resistance can thus be considered as a process that is continually engaged with and navigated on a daily basis as we encounter others and respond to them. Resistance includes those subtle moments of breaking away from experiences of hate and

beginning to re-write them in different ways. By re-writing these experiences within our own minds, it is possible to share these with others in disruptive ways.

Disruptive encounters: ‘*they are basically starting to understand us as a person*’

Throughout the project, participants reflected upon disruptive encounters, whereby they had been able to educate others about disability in response to oppression. The educational purpose of disruptive encounters was particularly valued due to the widespread belief that lack of awareness about disability continues to be a barrier to achieving meaningful inclusion and acceptance of disabled people in our society (Joe; John Taylor; Harry; Maisie; Pete). Therefore, greater engagement between disabled and non-disabled people was suggested to be fundamental in disrupting many of the negative attitudes outlined by participants in chapter five. As already discussed, prevalent attitudes included assumptions of vulnerability, lack of ability, and inferiority. To this, both John Taylor and Sabrina also commented upon the desire for disabled people to be considered as ‘*human beings*.’ In order to counter these attitudes, most participants described a willingness to educate others so that more holistic and *real* understanding of disability (in all of its diversity) could be generated. In this section, I consider a range of ways that participants had been able to disrupt traditional narratives of disability, and therefore challenge the way in which people think about disability. These encounters are understood to be disruptive in their ability to both challenge attitudes as well as prevent further incidents.

Honest conversations: ‘*that’s one mind you’ve changed, one life you’ve changed*’

Being able to engage with honest conversations and disruptive encounters is subject to the opportunities available within the context that hate occurs within. While in chapter seven I considered moments where direct confrontation was not desirable, in the following I present some of the ways that participants reported to being able to safely do so through open conversations. Knowing where and when to engage with such conversations demonstrates what Wetherell terms, ‘*affect as practice*.’ Understanding our affective capacity within particular practices:

emerges from dynamic, blossoming patchworks of neural firing, cognitive action, narratives, and inter-subjective negotiation. The patterns form surfaces in situ, and as they stabilise they shape a context or horizon for action, a complex subjectivity and personal history (Wetherell et al, 2020: 15)

Our affective capacity is shaped by our relation to the space, subjects, and objects around us. This capacity can not be pre-determined or fixed, but is an affective response to others within a particular time and context. For example, while Harry previously recognised the risks associated with challenging the attitudes of others, he nevertheless supported the value of sensitive and honest conversations about disability:

There's scope for being like, I know you weren't trying to be offensive but this is how it made me feel, so in future just be aware ... I think that's really powerful, because that's one mind you've changed, one life you've changed

Being able to engage others in alternative ways of thinking about disability has the ability to disrupt the flow of an encounter and create the possibility for alternative futures. Recognised by Harry, these alternative futures can be imagined not just for those who are directly engaging with disabled people, but for others when educational encounters are shared more widely. These honest conversations *interrupt* unhelpful discourses of disability and pave the way for more empowering futures. Indeed, it is the way that bodies come to affect one another that demonstrates the potential of what bodies can *do* and therefore, become. In this way, honest conversations might present sites of possibility and critical reflection, within which people consider more honestly *'how they work afterwards and think afterwards'* (Pete). In this way, these conversations have the potential to allow for the reimagining of the way in which disability is understood within publicly shared discourses by rupturing previously held assumptions. Doing so, it is possible to infiltrate the circulation of emotions that typically seek to position disabled people as other and inferior.

Knowing how to navigate hateful encounters is important, particularly as being able to respond to oppressive encounters in a resistive way can be self-empowering. As

Goodley et al (2018: 211), drawing on Ahmed's notion of the 'killjoy' suggests, 'there can be joy in dissing ability. And dis ability we must, and we do.' Taking on the role of 'killjoy' requires intricate navigation and a unique understanding of the social world in order to assess when, and where, the killjoy position can and should be enacted. Being a killjoy and enacting this role, is an act of defiance. As Ahmed (2017: 252) argues:

A killjoy manifesto thus begins by recognizing inequalities as existing. This recognition is enacted by the figure of the killjoy herself: she kills joy because she keeps countering the claim that what she says exists does not exist

Being a killjoy, then, can be as simple as being present within certain spaces, and calling out the underlying structures of oppression or disabling attitudes that seek to exclude certain individuals. For Ellie, claiming her presence had enabled her to disrupt a previously oppressive encounter and create more affirmative futures. She complained that shop assistants regularly fail to acknowledge her presence and instead communicate with her through her carer. During one of these moments, Ellie reminded the shop assistant of her presence and of the duty to communicate with her regarding her own purchases. In doing so, Ellie described feeling more in control and respected by members of staff who communicated with her, rather than her carer. By *interrupting* conversations between her carer and shop assistants, she has secured more affirmative futures. In this way, we can understand moments of resistances as always situated in relation to previous resistive encounters (Johansson & Vinthagen, 2020) as the resistive work already enacted by Ellie has enabled her continued presence in these public spaces. In doing so, Ellie has also pushed members staff at the shopping mall to reflect upon their own practices and engage with disabled shoppers in more respectful and meaningful ways.

Sabrina also described moments of being a 'killjoy' through her campaign work. As she presented on her mood-board (Figure 25), Sabrina was involved with a campaign called 'Get me' which sought to challenge attitudes towards disabled people so as to increase the presence of people with learning difficulties within society. Indeed, in her mood-board she notes the value of being recognised in society as equal human beings.

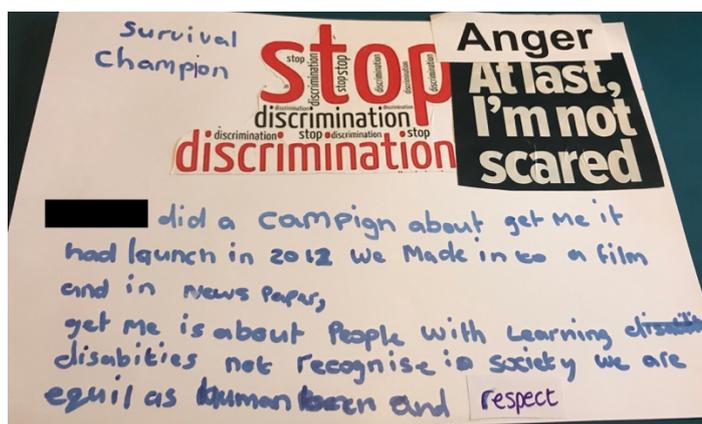


Figure 25 Sabrina

Vital to this campaign was the value placed upon the voices of people with learning difficulties, and their ability to educate others. Indeed, by considering the disruptive potential of honest conversations about disability, it affirms the value of engaging with individual experience which, as I have previously argued, is essential for gaining a better understanding of hate crime experiences. Indeed, according to Robbie, ‘*we have the knowledge, we have the experience.*’ Robbie’s claim here is not a radical suggestion moving forward, but an important reiteration of one of the central tenets of the disabled people’s movement. Highlighting what Charlton (2000: 5) describes as an ‘epistemological break with old thinking about disability,’ the mantra of ‘nothing about us, without us’ affirms the knowledge that can be gained by engaging with experiences of disability oppression and resistance. While participants reflected upon moments where these encounters occurred organically within the context of their everyday lives, they similarly supported the need for greater engagement between disabled people and school children, in order to raise awareness about disability for the future generations.

Engagement with schools: ‘*never be scared to ask me a question*’

In chapters five and six, I suggested that children and young adults are perceived to pose particular risks for disabled people when they navigate shared public spaces. Engagement with schools was therefore suggested by many participants to have significant value. It should be noted that some of the organizations involved with this research have already established working relationships with their local schools. However, it is evident that much more needs to be done in ways that do not overwhelm the already limited access to resources that many organizations are experiencing. In

order to avoid becoming burdensome for organizations, collaborative work with schools should be considered as an opportunity to harness collective responsibility. Doing so does not require additional commitment on behalf of schools, but would meet those responsibilities already implemented. For example, The Education and Inspectors Act 2006 requires schools to have measures in place that encourage good behaviour and prevent the bullying of staff and students. Moreover, schools are encouraged to prevent bullying by educating pupils about difference and harnessing the value of respect for one another (DfE, 2012). While there does not exist a prescriptive criterion of ensuring these values are implemented, the 'Education Inspection Framework' used by Ofsted (2019) does assess this when carrying out their assessments of a school. Finally, as of September 2020, all schools are required to teach:

Relationships Education' which, amongst a number of criteria, includes teaching children from an early age how particular stereotypes based on sex, gender, race, religion, sexual orientation or disability, can cause damage (DfE, 2019: 28).

Collaboration between schools, communities and research could therefore be a means of working towards these requirements already set out.

The desire to work with local schools and engage young children with issues relating to disability was supported by most participants. Despite the perceived risk associated with younger populations, the value of such engagement was clearly expressed. According to Pete, working with school-aged children is particularly useful as '*the younger they are, the faster they learn.*' Encouraging these early conversations about disability might therefore develop greater awareness and appreciation for diverse ways of being and living within the world. For members at organization two, this awareness was important in order to celebrate diversity and ensure that all people with learning difficulties are treated as equal human beings. To do so, participants suggested that the way in which communication occurred was important. Using creative means to engage with young children about important and sensitive topics, such as hate and mate crime was strongly supported. This was described by Sabrina, who commented upon her use of drama as a means of raising awareness within schools

about hate crime and mate crime. For Sabrina, drama performances connected with young people in different ways to normative conversations due to the presence of body language. In my previous research, Fred Smith, a former participant, described similar methods of engagement when reflecting upon his use of humour. For him, the most effective way of encouraging children to think about disability was through humour: ‘if you make them laugh, you make them listen and if you make them listen, they learn’ (In Burch, 2020a). Again then, working with schools in more creative ways is suggested to be important when thinking about collective futures.

Reflecting upon their own engagement with schools about the topic of hate crime, both Billy and Michael suggested that teaching children about hate could help to prevent the bullying of other children. Moreover, Sabrina and Sapphire identified the benefits of educating children early, so that it informs their transition to adulthood and helps to prevent negative attitudes and behaviours as adults. Developing this further, the education of children within the school environment does not occur within a vacuum, but can transcend far beyond the walls of the classroom.

I mean the best way to teach is to do it in schools obviously, and do it as young as possible. Because kids will learn for themselves then, or they will at least have a mind that when they're parents tell them one thing, so and so you know what I mean. And then they'll end up teaching the parents you never know
(Pete)

In the extract above, Pete recognises the important relationship between the school and home environment. In this way, educating children has the possibility to transcend the school walls and introduce more affirmative stories about disability within the home. In particular, Joe and Ellie commented upon the potential for working with young children to eradicate the stigma of being a wheelchair user and how this could also support parents when encountering disability with their children. For example, Joe explained that he has younger nieces and nephews who, through their interaction with him, have come to accept being in a wheelchair as ‘*normal*.’ Similarly, Ellie suggested:

we need to go into say a primary school and sit down with a group of maybe 4/5 year olds and say, look I'm not a scary person. Yes I'm in a wheelchair, but I'm not scary

Indeed, introducing children to disability in a non-threatening and neutral environment such as the school, provides an opportunity for younger generations to ask questions and learn about the experience(s) of disability. According to Ellie and Pete, this opportunity is particularly important given they are regularly denied the opportunity to engage in honest conversations about disability with children by their parents. From this perspective, beginning within the safety of the school classroom might open up a space for conversations about disability not ordinarily available in the context of everyday life.

Collective work in the community does, however, play an important role in challenging negative attitudes towards disabled people and raising awareness about hate crime. Therefore, in the final section of this chapter I turn to explore the collective strategies that are being developed by communities of disabled people who have come together within peer-support groups and various disability organizations. That is, I will draw attention to the diverse ways that disabled people are already coming together as a collective to challenge disablist hate and disabling attitudes, and consider if a closer alliance with research is possible. Finally, I reflect upon the development of a 'hate crime toolkit' that can be used by DPOs and other relevant organizations.

Collective Resistance: '*We speak up for things that need doing*'

Paying attention to resistance is important in order to raise an awareness and appreciation of the diverse ways that disruption manifests within everyday life. In this final section, I continue this focus but move to a consideration of how this might be achieved collectively. In particular, I turn my attention to the role of disability organizations, DPOs, and peer-support groups in establishing a safe space for disabled people to come together in productive and supportive ways. Indeed, following the reflections offered by participants throughout this research, these organizations are considered as sites where marginalization is both realized and disrupted. Before this, I acknowledge other sites of belonging that have been forged by disabled people within the local community. These 'ordinary' spaces take on new meanings and create

opportunities for embodiment as they are created by disabled people. Thereby, I call attention to the agency of collective bodies which can enable the development of inclusive spaces within those typically experienced as exclusionary. For both DPOs and ‘ordinary’ public spaces, it is important to recognise that it is the bringing together of formerly marginalized bodies that creates the sense of inclusion. Following Pillen et al (2017: 120), these collective spaces offer unique points of becoming-together, whereby:

Otherness emerges as a positive force that activates marginalized groups in organizations while destabilizing the dominance of gendered [and I would add, disablist] power relations and structures

That is, these diverse spaces, stories and experiences of marginalization bring people together as a collective force, within which the potential to disrupt normative and disabling processes within society can be more widely imagined and enacted. Those spaces that are felt as inclusive and welcoming are so through the assemblage of bodies and relational flows of affect through space and time (Kofoed & Ringrose, 2012). The focus, then, is about calling attention to how collectivity amongst marginalized groups can transform the affective potential of space.

Forging inclusive spaces within the community: ‘*you get to chat to people and we have a cup of tea*’

It has been suggested throughout this chapter that our participation in social encounters are not fixed according to social rules or expectations, but are in a constant state of revision. By drawing attention to this, this chapter has explored the ways in which individuals come to shape their surrounding environments. That is, whilst some spaces have been suggested to be particularly risky in their circulation of hate, alternative spaces are forged within local communities that offer safety, flexibility and an openness to different types of embodiment. For example, Elvis and Fifi described their daily ventures to the café situated in the main shopping centre. Although this was a very public and busy environment, it was characterised as a safe space to meet friends as well as purchase what would typically be their main meal of the day. At the same time, Elvis used the café as an opportunity to *be* on his own, surrounded by the comfort of those that he knows. That is, this space wasn’t one where social interaction felt mandatory, but instead a place where the type of engagement and communication

was determined by the individual depending upon how they feel at the time. While the flexibility of such encounters is taken for granted for those figures who are not subject to scrutiny, Elvis describes how these ‘safe’ spaces can provide multiple opportunities for belonging and becoming that are unfixed. It is through these different relations, all of which are also affected by the circulation of emotions, that we are always in a process of becoming, both within our own mind and bodies as well as that of our spatial surroundings (Ahmed, 2014; Coleman, 2009).

Central to the creation of safe and inclusive environments was the establishment of a mutual feeling of belonging and acceptance. For some participants, this sense of community was not limited to physical space, but instead present within the online groups that they participated in. While there was reservation expressed about the risks imposed by anonymity and cases of ‘*trolling*’ (Richard Jackson), the possibility for community was also recognised. For example, Francis Emerson described the internet as a ‘*tool*’, which ‘*helps people find community and you know, connect in ways that would have been imaginable a decade ago*’, and Ellie recognise the value of social media ‘*for bringing people together [and making] positive moves.*’ Recent years have witnessed powerful movements among disabled people and their allies in challenging stigma and asserting alternative narratives. For example, Twitter hashtags, #justaboutcoping and #worldwithoutdowns, sought to disrupt so-called ‘truths’ about Down’s syndrome (Burch, 2017). Moreover, online platforms can be significant in the lives of disabled people as they allow for presence outside of the conventions of the offline world (Bowker & Tuffin, 2007). Indeed, Doria Skadinski noted the importance of engaging with online communities when she felt isolated and trapped in her own home. In contrary to the isolation that Doria Skadinski was experiencing in the offline world, then, online communication provided an important opportunity for detachment and liberation (Burch, 2020b). Moreover, it gave her access to supportive networks and communities (Guo et al, 2005).

In terms of offline community presence, the examples of the local café, music events, and peer support groups are spaces that have been purposefully created and endorsed by those whom it becomes identifiable for. For example, some of the organizations involved with the research held regular ‘club nights’ with members in order to offer the opportunity to engage with night-life whilst reducing the risk of violence and

abuse. In particular, organization four organized regular events in local LGBT friendly venues thus providing the opportunity to further harness connections with the LGBT community (Fileborn, 2014). These spaces were embraced as sites of opportunity, whereby the affective capacity of bodies is not limited, defined, or determined; but instead, open to both choice and change. Forged by everyday engagement and determination, these spaces create an ‘alternative city’ defined by opportunities for inclusion and belonging (Hall & Bates, 2019:108). Pro-active engagement with different spaces arise through the process of reflection and navigation. By reflecting upon the affects of spaces in the past, participants enact agency in decided when and where they feel safe moving in the present. Again, then, we can read Doria Skadinski’s accessibility plan as a means of reflecting upon these past experiences in order to forge more inclusive spaces in the future.

In the examples above, participants demonstrate the way in which they have shaped the spaces around them. Indeed, while in chapter six these public spaces were described as risky, the above examples highlight opportunities for continuing to *be* and exist within them. Further than this, they present affirmative possibilities where participants are able to create safe and welcoming spaces by coming together as a collective. It is through these fluid relations that we can come to understanding the becoming of bodies:

A body’s capabilities cannot be known before or outside of its relations; *is it the relations of affect that produce a body’s capacities* (Coleman, 2009: 43; original emphasis)

In all of the spaces that we occupy exists the potential for us to be resistant. In some cases, the very presence of marginalized bodies within the normatively coded social space, is a form of resistance in and of itself (Fanghanel, 2020). Moreover, by asserting this presence, the recodification of normative spaces is made explicit. Importantly, this is not to suggest that presence within typically ‘normative’ spaces is the only means of collectively resisting power inequalities or disabling environments. Collective resistance also occurs in those spaces deemed safe and flexible, such as DPO’s and peer support groups. In the following section then, I consider the role of

DPO's more specifically, and how the creation of these open and welcoming spaces can forge the opportunity for communities to flourish.

The role of DPOs and peer support groups: *'I love coming here'*

According to Hall & Bates (2019), a geographical understanding of disability hate crime must consider those spaces perceived as particularly risky, as well as those that come to be safe havens and moorings. The identification of these safe spaces was discussed by participants throughout the research process, some of which have been discussed in the earlier sections of this chapter. Most participants identified disability organizations, DPOs, and peer-support groups as examples of safe spaces that had taken on significant meaning within their lives. While the specificities of these different spaces offer a variety of opportunities, they can be brought together by the possibility of enabling people to *be* and interact in, spaces outside of their own home. For example, Sally explained that being a member of organization five had provided her with the opportunity to interact with others. These interactions helped her to feel less 'stuck' within the parameters of her own home:

I love meeting these lovely people that are in this room. It's the space I'd come because otherwise I'd be stuck at home with my dog and I wouldn't know anybody

As Sally suggests in the extract above, attending organization five provides an opportunity to meet with '*these lovely people*' which therefore encourages her to leave the house. These social networks, whether they are established through DPOs or alternative support groups, are vital in helping disabled people to overcome isolation and exclusion from society (Disability Rights UK, 2014). This is not to say that the home is not a space of solitude and comfort, but that the opportunity to seek these affects in alternative spaces is important. For Betty, the opportunity to engage with activities other than her rehabilitation gym classes, or hospital appointments, was something that she aspired to work towards. However, she did recognise her engagement with the rehabilitation classes as helping her to feel more positive about her own body and feel part of collective group:

They're so chilled out and they don't look at you differently, they just treat you nicely. I mean, that's obviously what I like the most, they just don't judge me for obviously being disabled

Importantly, then, whilst these classes are for the purpose of rehabilitation, they offer the opportunity for Betty to feel part of something, and to situate herself within this collective group without being marked out.

Identifying as part of a collective group can help to foster a sense of belonging and community. This mutual sense of community transcends typical identity boundaries and instead brings people together based upon the desire for friendship, support, and change. Indeed, while Betty explained being the youngest person in her rehabilitation classes, she equally recognised her relationship with older members as rewarded and comforting. Similarly, Sally and Sapphire noted the diverse age of members within their organizations, which they believed could help to bring communities together, regardless of age, in positive and inclusive ways. In her interview, Sapphire commented upon the value of such intergenerational communication within organization three, explaining that:

We can talk to each other. We're different ages but we can understand. You can muck in and be yourself

The emergence of greater intergenerational communication is a particular strength of DPOs and peer-support groups, who bring individuals together based upon shared experiences of impairment and/or interest, rather than age. In this way, organizations offer a space where these friendships can be fostered, and supportive networks established. Indeed, the friendships that have emerged through these organizations were highly valued. Lionel expressed his enjoyment in attending organization three because it allowed him to see his friends and Lisa said that she enjoyed the opportunity to make new friends and John recognised the therapeutic benefit of being able to talk to other people. By creating a supportive network, these organizations and support groups harness friendships and help to create a safe community, which places experience and interest at the forefront.

The opportunity to develop these friendships are valuable in and of themselves, according to Doria Skadinski:

If we're spending time in a disabled peer group, yeah we'll always have talks about disability rights, always gonna happen, but sometimes we talk about what we've seen on TV, where we've been to eat and it's nice, just ordinary conversations

In addition to providing the opportunity to tackle important disability-related issues (which I will discuss later in this chapter), organizations and support groups facilitate regular catch ups between a group of friends. This was particularly evident in some of the activities hosted by organization four. Whilst this peer-support group are engaged in political issues relating to the rights and opportunities of LGBTQ+ disabled people, they also organized a range of different activities, as decided by their members. This includes the more mundane activity of going to a bar or restaurant, as well as group activities such as bowling, crazy golf, and the cinema. Similarly, whilst organization five is a disability support group with a focus upon hate crime, many members participated in a number of peer-support groups led by the same organization. Because of the diversity of activities available, Fifi explained that she would often meet new people several times on a weekly basis. In this way, affiliation with these groups goes beyond the organizational value of membership, and to the development of affective personal relationships that bring individuals together as a collective.

Being able to meet new people, and be part of a collective group on a regular basis was suggested to be particularly important for the ways in which participants had come to see themselves. As it has been suggested above, engagement with these organizations and support groups can be important in reducing the isolation that many disabled people experience (Walmsley and Downer, 1997). In turn, they are suggested to play an important role in building the confidence and self-esteem of those involved (O'Mahoney, 2010). The opportunity for developing self-confidence was recognised by most participants, particularly in countering the internalised oppression that many had experienced. For Shirley, ongoing experiences of hate and sexual assault had resulted in her considering to take her own life. Yet, through her increasing

engagement with organization five and the friendships that she had developed, she spoke about feeling '*empowered*' and more confident in herself. Robbie and Michael P described similar processes on reflection of their engagement with organization three. Whilst both Robbie and Michael P shared particularly difficult childhood experiences within institutional settings, their alliance with organization three had provided them with a sense of community and confidence which they were keen to pass onto others. As Robbie described, '*being part of [organization three] has changed my life*' and had given him the confidence '*to put a stop to it for the next victim not to be.*' In contrast to the oppressive systems inherent within the institutions that he had previously lived within, Robbie like many others, had established a purpose within the organizational setting. Tone, who explained that '*[Organization six] helps me to look after other people and talk to other people, and that is what [organization six] is for*', also highlighted mutual support.

Through their engagement with organizations, participants reflected upon their ability to share negative experiences, such as those that are considered hateful, with their friends. In doing so, notions of shared oppression can harness the strength of collective identity and community. Indeed, the closeness felt between members of DPOs and peer-support groups is not limited to group affiliation, but instead, to one another. Most notably, Fifi referred to members of organization five as her '*family*' and Robbie described members at organization three as being part of a '*team.*' Both of these descriptions present the strong sense of connection, intimacy and familiarity felt between members. There is the sense of alliance, commitment, and unconditional support that Ahmed discusses in her feminist manifesto. In this work, she calls upon the need for self-care, of both one another and ourselves; '*we need each other to survive; we need to be part of each other's survival*' (Ahmed, 2017: 235). The bringing together of experiences and each other as a collective offers the opportunity to reflect, learn, and resist in more explicit ways.

Engagement with DPOs can be important in establishing an identity for oneself (Walmsley & Downer, 1997) that disrupts those typically defined by normative cultural codes. Joe reflected upon the shift in his own identity and in particular, the increase in self-confidence and self-esteem since becoming a member of organization one. In particular, he noted becoming much less '*withdrawn*' than he used to be, and

admitted that he would not have been able to take part in this research project before joining organization one. While there are likely to be a range of explanations for this increased confidence, Joe highlighted the level of support and friendship available to be particularly important for him. Again, the perception of these organizations as safe spaces that are associated with friendships rather than hostilities provides a platform for sharing sensitive and potential upsetting experiences with others. For AD, the openness of other members within organization five had given him the confidence to share his own stories:

I like coming because I can tell my stories with no judgement, and I can voice my opinions and I can tell my views

Similarly, Alex explained that being a member of organization one had helped him to come to terms with his own experiences and given him the courage to speak out. In turn, he had come to realise that he is not alone in these experiences. By sharing these difficult experiences as a collective, it becomes possible to both support and be supportive. In this way, engagement with DPOs and other organizations/support groups can provide a safe space to make sense of the subtleties and intricacies of individual experiences, whilst also drawing connections between them:

There's so much power in what you would call a DPO because it's like we're so different in so many ways but what we have is this shared experience of oppression (Harry)

While it is important not to reduce individuals' identities to disability, the experiences of participants show that this is one of many ways to access support and develop meaningful relationships. Indeed, being able to support one another and work together constitutes a shared 'political identity' which has been fundamental to the disabled people's movement throughout recent decades (Shakespeare, 1993). As Harry describes above, whilst experiences of hate are uniquely situated, experienced, and felt, it remains that these can be brought together by an underlying focus upon wider systems of oppression. 'These moments of recognition are precious' (Ahmed, 2017: 260) as, they allow for the interweaving of experiences together. In doing so, members of organizations have the potential to develop shared understandings, not only

regarding what disability hate is, but also, how to challenge it. That is, organizations have an important role in raising the awareness of their members and also the wider community about important disability related issues. They are impactful because they support the creation of a safe space where the sharing of difficult stories is cherished rather than avoided.

DPOs are considered to be well-placed to help tackle issues such as hate crime due to the way in which they are organized. Such organizations are led by disabled people, and often foster important relationships with their wider community (DWP, 2012). These organizations are built upon the value and power of ‘self-advocacy’ (Sabrina) which Walmsley and Downer (1997: 36) define as being about:

People with learning difficulties as a group gaining power to fight for their rights, rather than, as in the past, being passive recipients of the charity, or otherwise, of others

Self-advocacy was at the centre of some of the organizations involved with this research. Indeed, for members of organizations two and three, self-advocacy was a fundamental part of their organizational history and future. According to the DWP (2012), personal experiences are crucial to ensuring that narratives surrounding disability are real, relevant and impactful. Experience-led decision-making was highly valued by participants, who commented upon some of the opportunities they had experienced as a result of their membership to DPO’s and support groups. For example, being part of these organizations provided the opportunities for members to speak out (Jenny), vote on important decisions (Maisie), and spread the word about disability (Robbie). Some organizations, for example, had established close and positive relationships with the police, local workplaces, and community forums. As a result, members were confident that through the sharing of their own experiences within these potentially isolating ‘*professional*’ spaces; they were able to influence important decisions (Maisie). In response to some of the reflections shared above, it is suggested that harnessing the collaboration between DPOs and other influential organizations is important.

Based upon their own work, organizations two and three supported greater collaboration with community workers, such as the police. Outside of these organizations, however, evidence of such engagement was limited. Indeed, for many participants, lack of trust in professional bodies such as the police was a persistent barrier to reporting their experiences of hate crime (Arnold; Francis Emerson; Richard Jackson; Sinead; Vinnie). As I explored in chapter two, disabled people face a number of barriers when accessing reporting services within their community. For Richard Jackson, the assumption that the police do not listen to disabled people had prevented him from seeking support in the past. Sabrina's own experiences of reporting sexual assault to the police supported this concern, where she described being upset and not listened to. Similarly, Shirley and Doria Skadinski reflected upon their own experiences of working with the police and described them to have been intimidating towards them. Despite this, there was an overall desire to work closer with the police if the opportunity to do so arose. For Angelina, such engagement was crucial in order to challenging the high number of disability hate crimes that do not get reported to the police (Figure 26). Moreover, although Alex described being very sceptical about working with the police, or reporting his experiences to them, he recognised that this was likely to be due to a lack of funding and resources.



Figure 26 Angelina

Given this level of mistrust expressed by many participants towards the police, greater communication and engagement with them is fundamental in encouraging people to report their experiences to the police. In the final section of this chapter, I

consider the possibility of working towards ‘collective futures’ which is particularly important given ongoing cuts to resource budgets that many organizations have endured. Building upon some of the suggestions made by participants, ‘collective futures’ involve closer collaboration between disabled people, organizations, and research.

Working towards collective futures: ‘*you should take these to your boss to show your boss what we been doing*’

In chapter five, I detailed some of the important methodological decisions underpinning the design of this research project. Throughout this process, a consideration that I have continued to return to is a question of impact; what can participants and other disabled people gain from this project? Participants identified a number of benefits that they had believed to gain through their involvement, such as being able to speak out on issues that are important to participants (John Dovet; Sabrina), the opportunity to discuss somewhat sensitive topics within a safe space (Caitlin), and the ability to have an impact and influence change (Alex; Maisie; Robbie). Having active involvement with the research project offered the opportunity to share and reflect on matters important to participants. Harry, for example, described his involvement in the research as ‘*cathartic*’ and John Taylor expressed his appreciation at being involved, and recognised that it was the first time he had spoken about his experiences. Asking participants to share these stories tapped into experiences of hate at a much deeper level than could be established from merely descriptive accounts. While this was emotionally challenging at times, it provided participants with an opportunity to ‘know’ and reflect upon their experiences in new ways (Holland, 2007) and thus learn more about themselves in the process.

While recognising the need for caution when researching sensitive topics such as this one, Francis Emerson argued that more are needed that work with disabled people in collaborative ways. Indeed, while he was supportive of the participatory methods used in this project, he also expressed the desire that future projects should be run by and with disabled people in more emancipatory ways. With this in mind, it is suggested that more opportunities for shared research spaces is imperative to moving towards a collective future. Similarly, Joe considered the possibility of collaborating with researchers to develop a more beneficial approach to disability awareness training. He suggested that ‘*people like you should come in with a load of your people, in here*

and see us, and we can explain to them.’ Again then, for Joe greater engagement with disabled people is key to challenging some of the disabling attitudes that he experiences within the community. What is more, Joe highlights the need for this research to be conducted within the community, where participants have a safer sense of place and belonging. Bringing a range of different people together in this way was also supported by Billy and Shirley, who expressed their desire for research to help bring different parts of the community together; including DPO’s and other identity groups. Indeed, Shirley suggested that by bringing a range of communities together, it is possible to learn from one another.

As the researcher, working within the community further enhanced my sense of accountability to those who I was working with. This was something that I shared with participants who were keen to know what would happen with the research once the project came to a close. For example, Alex was particularly passionate about the role of research in raising awareness of the issues that are important for him and other members at organization one. He argued:

This needs to be put in a booklet and all this information needs to be put online so that we can help somebody in the same situation

Joe also commented upon the need for this research to be ‘*publicized*’ in order to prevent other disabled people being bullied within their community. Imperative then, is that the knowledge generated through the research is shared within the community in order to have an impact on the lives of disabled people. Beyond this, Alex argued that just doing the research is not enough, and that we need to work with politicians to be able to raise awareness of disability hate crime. He argued that ‘*instead of sitting around a table, we should be doing something.*’ In this comment, Alex raises an important point that has stuck with me throughout the research project. That is, alongside the individual benefits of being able to share personal experience, research should have impact within the real world. It is to this point that I have created an accessible toolkit which is available online (<https://everydayhatephd.home.blog/>). Inspired by toolkits produced by the teams behind *Living Life to the Fullest* and *Around the Toilet*, I have sought to create a toolkit that presents an overview of key questions relating to hate crime that can be used within organizations, workplaces,

and schools. The purpose of this toolkit is to disseminate knowledge in accessible and meaningful ways. Toolkits offer the opportunity to diversify the way in which knowledge is available, and share this in a range of ways that can be accessed by anyone who is interested or related to the topic. Moreover, I hope that the toolkit can be used as an opportunity for greater communication about hate crime between disabled people, organizations, and research in the future.

Conclusion

In this final chapter of analysis, I have discussed the different ways that participants report to responding to, and managing their experiences of hate. The strategies employed in everyday life are diverse, and highlight the depth of knowledge that disabled people acquire of their surrounding world. As Porta et al (2015: 3) explain:

people in such precarious circumstances have to be unusually clever in outsmarting their adversaries, making tactically imaginative moves that catch the ruling power-holders by surprise

Taking into account the intricate ways that participants have come to *know* and *be* in their surrounding social world calls for greater recognition of everyday resistance. Everyday resistance is evident in the subtle moments of disruption that participants have shared, and in the disruptive encounters that participants have pursued. Importantly, I have also considered the relationality between bodies and spaces; where the way in which one is affected by the other is not determined in advance. This indicates that spaces are not predetermined to be exclusionary or oppressive, but are dependent upon the relationship between body, objects and space, and how this harnesses or impedes their bodily capacities. This approach takes into account the spatial and temporal embodiment of space, and how this comes to be experienced *by* participants. Moreover, it recognises how we also come to shape, and are shaped by, our surrounding environments and encounters. Recognising the ways that disabled people shape their surroundings is vital in raising awareness of the unique knowledge that have, which is a fundamental resource to challenging hate.

Finally, this chapter has sought to demonstrate the productive value of working in collaboration with one another. Bringing together a range of experiences and

perspectives has enabled a more nuanced understanding of what it feels to *be* in the world. Moreover, working in collaboration with one another has harnessed an ongoing sense of collectivity within the research project. This sense of collectivity has been vital both for myself and participants, in being able to share the emotional labour invested in such sensitive topics. Beyond this, collectivity among participants has ensured a proactive and productive research space. Such a space has allowed for the sharing of upsetting stories, the provision of support and comfort to one another, and the harnessing of ideas and suggestions for future development. Indeed, it is on the grounds of this experience that disabled people and their allies should be at the very forefront of approaches to challenging disability hate. To do so, it is imperative to *interrupt* dominant discourses of disability with more holistic stories of everyday life.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

In this final chapter, I bring the analysis together and consider how these findings can help to address the research questions posed in chapter one. By attending to these questions closely, I offer some concluding reflections about what this research tells us, as well as what other questions it might open up. In this sense, this conclusion does not signify the completion of this project, but instead, a moment to pause and reflect upon how it might open up new avenues for exploration. Before I consider the findings of this research, I will provide a brief chapter-by-chapter summary that brings the thesis together as a whole, and helps to re-position the research project within its wider literary context.

Chapter one introduced the context of disability hate crime as it is situated within England and Wales. In doing so, I began to justify the need for greater focus upon hate as it is encountered within the context of disabled people's everyday lives. As I suggested, attending to the 'everyday' calls for greater consideration of the practices that have typically been rendered invisible within analysis (Wood, 2014). This is significant for thinking more critically about disability hate crime due to the everyday nature of hate that many disabled people experience (EHRC, 2011), making this project a unique contribution to what we know about disability hate crime, and hate crime more generally. Further to this, I also outlined my interest in the way that disabled people navigate and resist these experiences of hate. While I have continued to pay attention to the harms of hate (Iganski, 2008), I suggested that it is equally important to attend to the diverse ways that disabled people negotiate hateful experiences. In this opening chapter I also define the terminology that has been adopted throughout this thesis, and explain how these choices are illustrative of the ideological and theoretical underpinning of the research.

In chapter two I presented a more detailed contextual backdrop to this research by drawing upon the policy and statistical landscape of hate crime in England and Wales. In doing so, I sought to outline current policy provisions and highlight where these are unable to account for the everyday realities experienced by many disabled people. While, as I acknowledge in this chapter, England and Wales have one of the most

advanced policy frameworks in the world for tackling hate crime (Tyson et al, 2015), I argued that disability has tended to be left behind. Thus, I considered the boundaries of hate crime policy, and in particular, focused upon the characteristics and incidents that are and are not included. To demonstrate this more clearly, I reflected upon key issues relating to disability hate crime and drew heavily upon Quarmby's (2011) analysis of how some disabled people have been scapegoated throughout history. By considering this history, I suggested that many disabled people have been historically marginalized and cast as 'other' in a range of contexts. In the latter half of this chapter, I presented a deeper exploration of the everyday nature of hate against many disabled people. In doing so, I proposed a range of ways that disabled people can be targeted by hate crime within the routines and structures of their everyday lives. In doing so, I justified the need to further explore conceptual debates surrounding hate crime in order to assess their ability to capture these mundane experiences.

Chapter three engages with some of the conceptual discussions that continue to frame the way in which we understand hate and hate crime. As I suggested, the multidisciplinary nature of hate crime has exacerbated conceptual ambiguity and conflict between academic discussion and everyday practice (Chakraborti, 2015a). In this chapter, then, I sought to consider some of these different readings of hate which could then be considered in relation to the experiences shared by participants. I drew upon the Perry's (2003) 'doing difference' and the work of 'strain theory' (Walters, 2011) in order to consider the contextual codes that constitute hostile environments, and better understand what groups are likely to be targeted. Developing this further I broke down Ahmed's (2014) 'circulation of hate' in order to think about the way that hate circulates between bodies, and becomes 'stuck' upon those figures who represent marginalized groups. Finally, I explored the relationship between disability and everyday space and introduced the way in which relations within such spaces could limit or enhance one's affective capacity.

In chapter four, I outlined the methods employed in this research and described the ontological and epistemological values underpinning these. I positioned myself within the research process, and explained how this had shaped the methodological framework. I described the research design and strategy, detailing the sampling and recruitment process which again was shaped by my desire to work with disabled

people in the community. Following this I presented the three stages of fieldwork that have been conducted, including arts-based workshops, interviews, and reflective workshops. These three stages offered a range of opportunities for knowledge generation, and for participants to be involved in ways that they felt comfortable. The three stages also enabled me to reflect upon the research process continuously, and employ different readings of data as I continued to work with participants.

Key Findings:

The following section reflects upon the research findings in relation to the research questions posed earlier in this thesis. In doing so, I offer an overview of the analysis chapters whilst also bringing these together and making wider connections to the overall thesis.

Making sense of experiences of ‘hate’

Research question one asks about how disabled people make sense of hate and hate crime within the context of their everyday lives. In asking this question, the aim of this research was not to simply revise ongoing academic debates concerning the philosophical and conceptual parameters of hate and hate crime, but to consider these fundamental questions with disabled people. This was based upon the premise that disabled people’s knowledge of their surrounding world is a means of learning about the diverse ways that hate is understood, experienced, felt and responded to within the context of everyday life.

In chapter five, I outlined the different ways that participants had come to know and articulate their understandings of hate and hate crime. In doing so, I revealed the widespread ambiguity felt by a large number of participants, and the difficulties they had encountered when attempting to make sense of their own experiences. As a result, many participants believed that the usability of the concept of hate crime was limited within the context of their everyday lives (Garland and Chakraborti, 2012; Soorenian, 2020). Indeed, whilst the focus on hate was consistent throughout the project, terminological discrepancies were prominent, with many participants choosing to conceptualise their own experiences of hate in different ways. For example, alternative terms such as ‘bullying,’ ‘abuse,’ ‘mate crime,’ and ‘threatening behaviour’ were repeatedly drawn upon by participants as a means of articulating and

sharing their experiences with others. Importantly, this chapter argued that working with the alternative terminology put forward by participants would enable insightful and meaningful discussions about hate crime as it is situated within the context of everyday life.

Although this alternative terminology was described to open up conversations about hate crime, it has been argued that terminology such as ‘bullying’ and ‘abuse’ can minimise the perceived seriousness of disability hate (Ralphe et al, 2016; Sherry, 2010). In doing so, the reliance upon such terminology risks continuing the exclusion of disability from hate crime discussions, and marking disabled people’s experiences as less significant than those from other identity groups. The use of language here is particularly important, then, given the number of participants who already believed that their own experiences had not been taken seriously by the police. Therefore, although labelling something as ‘hate’ or ‘bullying,’ is immaterial to the lived experiences to that which it defines (Hall and Bates, 2019), there are material consequences at stake when these experiences are not taken seriously. From this perspective, it is suggested that the way that we come to frame experience can have real impacts on the everyday lives of disabled people. While many conceptual discussions have been driven by academic interest, the generation of shared language and understandings should position disability hate on par with others. That is, the development of a shared understanding about what ‘hate’ is, and the types of harms that it can cause, is more important than the name we use to define it. It is proposed, then, that using alternative language to open up conversations about hate should be encouraged, as long as these experiences are still located under the broader category of hate crime.

Beyond the language that participants chose to employ when reflecting upon their own understandings and experiences, shared meanings were generally established. As I explored in chapter five, most participants believed that they and others had been a target of hate crime due to their perceived difference. For some participants, any difference could cause someone to be targeted, including the way they might behave, look, or even the type of job that they have. For others, the type of difference was important in order to recognise that certain marginalized groups are more likely to be targeted by hate crime than others. From this perspective, it is not the attribution of

difference that is important, but the way that these differences take on meaning within culturally propagated narratives. As Ahmed (2004b: 33) contends:

It is not simply that any body is hated: particular histories are re-opened in each encounter, such that some bodies are already read as more hateful than other bodies. Histories are bound up with attachments precisely insofar as it is a question of *what sticks*, of what connections are lived as the most intense or intimate, as being closer to the skin

Throughout their discussions, participants considered many of these histories that had become stuck upon narratives of disability. For example, the ‘differences’ that generated the most discussion related to long-standing stereotypes vulnerability, inability, dependency, and asexuality. In many cases, these stereotypes were suggested to have been discussed negatively within conversation with little awareness of the implications. As I further considered in chapter seven, many of these stereotypes were considered to be culturally engrained, making them particularly challenging to disrupt.

Although these stereotypes might not typically be considered as hateful in nature and intention, they ultimately imply and reproduce assumptions of disabled people as inferior others. Ahmed (2017: 124) explains, for example, that the subjection of disabled people to routine questioning is ‘part of the experience of disability’ which asks disabled people ‘to give an account of oneself as an account of how things went wrong.’ The meanings inherent to these conversations therefore stand to reinforce the long-standing degradation of disabled people as ‘wrong’ in some way, so that they are no longer considered to fit within the criteria of the human (Burch, 2020b). As I have discussed throughout the thesis, we can therefore understand hate and hate crime, as a tool used to draw and secure the borders between populations, predicated upon distinct characteristics and stereotypes (Ryther, 2016). Indeed, it is the way in which bodies are perceived to embody particular differences that they come to surface as a collective other (Ahmed, 2014).

Understanding the circulation of hate as a movement between bodies recognises the way in which bodies are aligned as either *with* ‘us’ or *as* other. The other surfaces as

a figure(s) deemed to represent threat; the possibility of an invasion of ‘our’ space, resources, knowledge, or practices. These boundary formations exist within cultural anxieties (Ahmed, 2014), some of which might appear more contextually prominently than others. The constitution of these boundaries is therefore subject to the particular threat that has current contextual significance. Participants drew upon a range of contexts in order to explain moments of ‘doing difference’ against them and other disabled people. As I discussed in chapter five, many of the differences were stereotypical (e.g. vulnerability, inability etc) and had become increasingly problematised within the context of austerity. For example, Francis Emerson referred to the values of capitalism which he believed to underpin much of austerity discourse in modern times. Within this, he explained how disabled people are perceived to represent a threat to the mode of production and are thereby known as ‘cheats’ or ‘frauds.

Developing beyond this, however, many participants demonstrated how these categories of other are intersectional in nature. Betty and Doria Skadinski reflected upon the constitution of their ‘female’, ‘disabled,’ and ‘overweight’ bodies as other, during encounters where the normative gaze implies lack of self-control and poor personal choices. Such bodies are constituted as threatening in their ‘proof’ of moral failing and individual deficit (Mollow, 2015) and the failure to possess valued characteristics of the ‘normate’ (Garland-Thompson, 1997). Again, in a context where ‘obesity’ is continually located as a cause of social economic insecurity (See NHS, 2104 for example), individuals are blamed for representing such dangers. In another example, the intersection of ‘age’ and ‘disability’ was suggested to cause issues for many elderly people who come to be seen as threats to the financial security of younger populations. In a time where both the ‘pension pot’ and disability welfare support are considered to be a drain upon national funding budgets, Tone and Dr Who believed that they were particularly vulnerable to being a target of hate crime. In terms of ‘doing difference’ and ‘strain theory,’ it is thus possible to understand how the intersection of particular identities come to be marginalised.

While these are just a few examples of the ‘hated bodies’ that are explored in chapter five, they nonetheless demonstrate how the formation of border lines are upheld upon the recognition of threat/s that particular bodies are perceived to represent. Moreover,

the intersectional significance within these accounts complicates the silo-approach traditionally applied to hate crime research that has attempted to neatly differentiate between protected strands (Mason-Bish, 2015). Indeed, for some of the participants in this research, disability was just one part of their identity that could come to be problematized, which could overlap with, or be treated distinctly from, other attributes such as age and bodyweight.

Based upon these findings, this chapter argued that the way that we come to understand and define hate reflects our own unique backgrounds and histories. According to Ahmed (2014), we have different relationships to the feelings that circulate around us. Therefore, while we can work towards a shared definition of hate crime, it is not possible to determine the way in which we relate and respond to this definition. Our relationship to these feelings, to hate someone or to be the hated object, changes in accordance to time and context, as well as our unique histories. That is, our relationship to the feeling of hate is subjective and so it is unsurprising that it is considered to be ambiguous and ‘fuzzy.’ In this chapter, I proposed that this ambiguity might offer an opportunity to rethink the boundaries that traditionally exclude the mundane experiences of hate encountered by many disabled people. As I explored in chapter six, by attending to the diverse range of hateful encounters within the everyday lives of disabled people, it is possible to capture the unique ways that hate has come to circulate within the different spaces that they occupy.

Identifying hate in the ordinary spaces of everyday life

Research question two sought to identify experiences of everyday hate in the lives of disabled people by employing a geographical exploration of hate. Following the work of Hall (2018), chapter six presented a geographical account of everyday hate to demonstrate the way that mundane incidents of hate can create spaces of exclusion. In this chapter, I discussed the different types of spaces that participants perceived to be risky and unwelcoming based upon their prior experiences. While it is not possible to predetermine the relationship between bodies and surrounding space, participants did agree on the spaces they perceived to be ‘risky.’ Supporting previous research findings, these spaces included public transport (Wilkin, 2020), schools, the home, and a range of social hubs within the city centre (Hall & Wilton, 2017).

Throughout chapter six, I considered the circulation of hate within both public and private spaces. For example, the stories of Robbie, Taylor, and Michael P shed light on the prevalence of violence within the often rural confines of institutional settings (Malacrida, 2006; Philo, 1987). The spatial and temporal characteristics of these spaces, both in terms of their rural location and strict routinized practices (Valentine, 2001) were described in this chapter to create a space that is particularly prone to the surfacing of young, disabled bodies as objects of violence. The intimacy and privacy afforded to institutional settings was also shared by participants who had encountered hate within the confines of their home and local neighbourhoods. Notably, Fifi shared experiences of medicalisation, emotional abuse, sexual abuse, and physical abuse at the hands of her mother and father. Beater, Robbie and Doria Skadinski shared their experiences of neighbourhood disputes, within which the 'safe' confines of their homes had become a targeted site of hate. While the type of violence ranged from financial abuse, verbal abuse, and physical abuse, they all demonstrated the way that our bodies can be reconfigured and governed within the 'safety' of our home. That is, a consideration of hate within the home environment conflicts with an understanding of the home as a place of safety and refuge, and instead, one where the very means of intimacy and privacy can enable the circulation of hate to continue. Given the range of hate encounters that participants described when occupying public spaces, I argued that violence within the home can dismantle the use of this space as a 'safe haven' (Imrie, 2010) away from hateful encounters in the public domain.

Overall, participants highlighted a number of 'risky' spaces within the public domain that they chose to carefully navigate, including the cinema, shops, public transport, and bars. For many, movement through and within public spaces was complicated due to their inability to 'pass' as residents of the normatively configured make-up of public space (Ahmed, 2017). Garland-Thompson (2011) describes this lack of residency as an example of mis-fitting, where certain bodies become an incongruity; a body that doesn't quite squeeze into the surrounding garment. Many examples within chapter six highlighted these realities of 'mis-fitting.' For example, I considered the experiences of Harry, Betty and Doria Skadinski, who had encountered hate incidents within clubs and bars. These experiences presented their bodies as already having been read as 'out of place' before hateful encounters occurred. Indeed, these participants were read as mis-fitting and therefore made subject to intimate

questioning about their sexual relationships as well as paternalistic comments about their very presence within these typically adult spaces. As I went on to explore in chapter seven, such cases are described to be symbolically violent, as they constitute the way in which different figures feel they belong in their surrounding space.

In the final section of chapter six I explored participants' experiences of using public transport as a means of moving through public space. As I discussed, most participants shared hostile encounters while using public transport, particularly in relation to the limited spaces available for disabled people. The spatial configuration of the bus was suggested to create a ready environment for the circulation of hate. For example, in this chapter I considered the layered configuration of seats which meant that the back seats were raised and over-looked the rest of the lower deck. In addition, limited accessible seating was suggested to fuel hostility towards disabled people due to the increasing regulation and contestation of who these marked-out spaces are for. Therefore, while many participants recognised that public transport was vital for them to being able to travel, the risks associated with this created barriers.

Approaching the experiences shared by participants geographically enabled an exploration of the relationship between space and the bodies of disabled people. Beyond identifying those risky spaces, it asked different questions about these experiences such as how it feels to *be* in those spaces, or to *be* cast outside of the space. In doing so, I sought to move beyond an identification of the geographical location of hate (although any such exploration remains to be important), and towards a deeper understanding of the way that bodies shape, and are shaped by, their surrounding spaces. Thus, in chapter seven, I explored the range of ways that these experiences had come to impress upon participants' everyday lives, and the diverse ways that such impressions were enacted upon.

Impressions of hate

Research question three aims to gain a greater awareness of how hate impresses upon the lives of disabled people, and what impacts this can have upon how they position themselves within the spaces around them. Social encounters help to define our understanding of the city, our place within it, and the make-up of city life (Hall & Bates, 2019). Therefore, the consideration of space is important in order to understand the way in which hate comes to be lived and negotiated by those who are targeted. It

is within all types of spaces that ‘the alignment of some bodies with some others and against others takes place’ (Ahmed, 2014: 54) which in turn, reconfigures the way in which different bodies come to *be* within the space. For participants in this study, hate incidents, including the subtle gestures of staring, headshakes, and disdainful noises, had become lodged within the everyday dynamics of their everyday life. Indeed, these encounters were not unusual events, but merely considered as ‘*part of the package*’ (Francis Emerson). To unpack this, chapter seven explored the ways that participants came to move (or not) within the different spaces of their lives as they came to be shaped according to their internalisation of hate. By attending to the affects of these everyday experiences of hate, this chapter marked an explicit call for the widening of our conception of hate and how it circulates within the context of everyday life.

In this chapter, I analysed a range of moments where participants described coming to know themselves, and their future possibilities, through their experiences of hate. Such an approach addresses research question three by opening up a space to consider the different ways that disabled people’s affective capacity can be shaped by these types of experiences. These impressions rest upon the surfaces of our skin, which come to be felt as border lines between our own bodies and the space around us. Hate circulates within these spaces and becomes ‘stuck’ to those bodies that have already been historically constituted as other. This stickiness can mean that individuals come to see themselves through the stigmas that are directed towards them (Ahmed, 2014; Brown, 2013). As I explored throughout chapter seven, this stickiness changed the way that they *feel* within certain spaces, and how they interacted with others around them.

Many participants reflected upon the impacts of hateful encounters on their sense of identity. This was suggested to be a continuous struggle for Francis Emerson and Beater, who described feeling like they needed to hide their identity, as well as question their sense of self. Indeed, the long-lasting nature of these harms caused a gradual process of internalisation (Reeve, 2014), where they were made to feel inadequate and ultimately, to blame for their own experiences of hate. This process was referred to as an ‘*endless spiral*’ and likened to ‘*battering*’ as its persistence came to impact self-confidence, self-esteem, and feelings of safety. The internalisation of these experiences can be envisaged as a symbolic wall that operates at the level of the

personal and becomes enacted at the level of the material. Indeed, throughout this chapter I shared a range of examples where participants described moments of discomfort within their own bodies which had caused them to question their sense of identity. This included feeling questionable to others (Ahmed, 2017) as well as subjecting themselves to the scrutiny of their own deviation from normative bodily standards. These moments of internalisation, whether this was evident in the avoidance of space, self-isolation, or a lack of self-confidence, materialises in the barriers that we impose upon the self in the future (Reeve, 2020; Thomas, 2007). The long-lasting nature of these barriers recognises ‘social action as constantly in motion while yet recognising too that the past, and what has been done before, constrains the present and the future’ (Wetherell, 2012: 23). These limitations imposed upon the body were evident in the practices of avoidance and additional labour that were described by participants throughout this chapter.

Feeling ‘out of place’ demonstrates the violence that we might enact upon ourselves when we are made to dwell within precarious spaces. During this chapter, I considered how feelings of marginalization were materialised through acts of avoidance, or strict practices of negotiation. For example, many participants described accepting and anticipating the circulation of hate when moving within certain spaces. In order to manage this, participants’ movements within particular spaces were governed accordingly. One of the ways that the anticipation of hate was shown to take shape was through the avoidance of certain spaces. For example, a number of participants reported to avoiding the use of public transport, particularly during peak times when there is a higher presence of young adults and children. Similarly, Robbie noted avoiding a certain cinema and several participants admitted to avoiding nightclubs and bars due to the fear of encountering alcohol-fuelled hostility. The avoidance of these various spaces can be understood as exacerbating the oppression of hate crime by reinforcing spatial boundaries and causing additional labours to negotiate.

Where participants chose not to avoid places, they still described their engagement with additional labour in order to help navigate those spaces without being questioned. These navigational strategies include time-management and the continual assessment of situations which can, as shown, be exhausting and draining. For example, in this chapter I explored a range of management strategies adopted by participants, such as

planning their use of certain facilities (for example, public toilets), paying additional costs to attend alternative places or obtain different modes of transport, and ensuring that they do not occupy certain spaces on their own. These strategies were twofold. Often, they entailed additional financial, emotional, and physical costs that only bodies situated upon the peripheries are required to navigate. At the same time, they indicated a particularly enhanced understanding of the social world. Thus, in the final chapter of analysis, I considered the mundane forms of resistance that many disabled people enact upon a regular basis.

Negotiating, navigating, and resisting hate

Research question four moves beyond a focus upon these harmful impressions to explore the intricate and often mundane ways that disabled people have come to navigate, negotiate, and importantly, resist experiences of hate. In this way, question four illustrates the call for greater appreciation of the affective possibilities of the present and future, which are shaped by these past interactions. In the final chapter of analysis, I offered different ways of thinking about these navigational strategies not simply as the internalization of oppression, but as examples of agency, protection and self-empowerment. Drawing attention to moments where affective capacity is harnessed, this chapter recognised the nuanced knowledge that many disabled people have developed in order to *be* and *exist* within the disabling structures and processes of society. To make way for these practices is to engage more deeply with affect theory so that it is possible to ‘generate a politics that enables people to break out of the sad regimes that oppress us’ (Pillen et al, 2017: 118). Throughout chapter eight, then, I shared a range of management techniques and navigational strategies that participants had developed as a means of negotiating and responding to hateful encounters.

By engaging with Tobin Siebers’ concept of complex embodiment (2015), this chapter sought to present the deep and meaningful knowledge that disabled people have due to their ongoing navigations of a disabling world. For some participants, these strategies were focused upon protecting their own mental wellbeing, and being able to ‘*survive*.’ For example, John Taylor spoke about his use of humour when encountering hate, and Elvis reflected upon the importance of keeping calm. In addition, participants described relaxation techniques, such as hand-massages (Delboy), yoga (Brandon), and reading (Amanda Depp). While these strategies are

typically directed inwards towards the self, rather than the barriers that are imposed externally, they demonstrate a deep awareness of existing within society in order to make socialisation more manageable (Forster & Pearson, 2020).

Many participants shared the ways that they are already using this knowledge to raise awareness about disability and disabled people's rights. Often, this knowledge is drawn upon as a resource for engaging others in honest conversations about disability. In this chapter I demonstrated how '*powerful*' (Harry) such conversations could be in their ability to disrupt normative attitudes towards disability, and thus inform more positive future encounters between disabled and non-disabled people. In particular, there was an agreement among participants that the most effective use of honest conversations about disability, is with children and young adults. For example, Pete believed that engaging with children is crucial in order to disrupt negative attitudes for the future. In particular, participants commented upon the importance of having these conversations within safe spaces, such as schools. Indeed, as I recognised in chapter eight, some organizations had been proactive in setting up collaborations with local schools, in order to teach young children about disability from the lived experiences of disabled people. On the contrary, other participants recognised the potential of more organic communication within the context of everyday life. Joe and Ellie were particularly keen for more parents to allow their children to ask disabled people questions in order to prevent the perception of disability as a taboo subject.

While the strategies adopted by participants are varied, chapter eight shared these in order to reflect upon the active role of disabled people in shaping their own encounters. From this perspective, I argued that affective capacity is not pre-determined, but subject to the relationality of disabled people during that moment. In doing so, it is recognised that the experience of oppression always has the opportunity to be accompanied by resistance:

It is from difficult experiences, of being bruised by structures that are not even revealed to others, that we gain the energy to rebel. It is from what we come up against that we gain new angles on what we are against. Our bodies become our tools; our rage becomes sickness. We vomit; we vomit out what we have been asked to take in (Ahmed, 2017: 255)

Following Ahmed, chapter eight opened up important discussions regarding the subtle forms of navigation and resistance that disabled people are already enacting on a regular basis. I sought to raise awareness of this resistance, which, although always there, has been absent from much hate crime scholarship. However minor, these acts of refusal and of resistance demonstrate a unique way of *being* in the world that is informed by the knowledge that comes from precarious positions. These moments of '*bouncing back*,' as Alex described them, are always in existence and should be valued. Importantly, chapter eight sought to consider these moments of '*bouncing back*' as a collective achievement.

Collective resistance and the possibilities of research

Research question five considered the role of research in harnessing the collective resistance of disabled people. In doing so, chapter eight reflected upon the opportunity for establishing more collaborative and emancipatory means of bringing academic research and community work together. First, I recognised the ways that individuals were already working within their community to challenge negative attitudes, educate others, and support one another. For example, all of the organizations involved with the project provided members with the opportunity to engage with educational activities. In most cases, educational activities were designed to foster the experience and knowledge of disabled people and to use this as a resource for teaching others. For example, members at organization two were involved in a number of community and school-based projects in order to teach others about disability. Similarly, members of organization three provided training opportunities for local workplaces and organizations with the aim of transforming these environments to become more inclusive and accessible. In both of these examples, participants are involved in projects that are aimed at harnessing, and indeed, creating these inclusive spaces within the community. In other cases, organizations provided opportunities for disabled people to gain more information about issues important to them, such as access to local shops and restaurants, keeping healthy, and being involved in community projects.

One way that participants had enabled this sense of collectivity was through the forging of inclusive spaces within their online and offline community. As I noted in chapter eight, many of these spaces had been fostered within the organizational

setting. Attending organizations provided many participants with a routine, and the opportunity to meet with others in a safe space. Participants valued these opportunities as being fundamental to their mental wellbeing and self-confidence. Indeed, while organizations provided the opportunity to speak up and make changes within society, they equally fostered a sense of community. Outside of organizational settings, many participants had utilised the flexibility of online communication to build support networks. For others, local social hubs such as café's and shopping centres provided a safe space to meet up as a collective within what could be considered as particularly risky. Hall and Bates (2019) describe these as 'alternative cities' that welcome the opportunity for diverse forms of inclusion and belonging.

An exploration of how everyday resistance is being enacted is important. However, it is equally valuable to assess the relationship between research and the wider community, and in particular, the responsibilities of researchers to work *with* disabled people, allies, activists, and organizations. Greater collaboration is particularly important given that disabled people's organizations tend to have less allocated resources to conduct research than other organizations (Priestley et al, 2010). Indeed, the ongoing withdrawal of financial support available to local authorities was suggested by a number of staff to have made this work even more difficult to achieve. Moreover, as chapter eight presented, many participants valued the opportunity to be involved with research, as it provided a platform for sharing their experiences and making suggestions for change. The toolkit that I have produced hopes to reflect these suggestions, and share the research findings in a more accessible and meaningful manner. Moreover, future communications with organizations is anticipated in order to develop this resource in a way that further harnesses the experiences and knowledge shared by participants.

In many ways, this final chapter of analysis sought to bring together key research findings in order to demonstrate the different ways that disabled people report to understanding, experiencing, and responding to hate and resisting everyday hate. While the stories shared throughout this project are not final accounts and will continue to be re-constructed and revised, they nonetheless offer insightful reflections about the presence of hate within their everyday lives. By engaging with these experiences, there are a number of contributions that this research offers, both to

furthering our understanding of hate crime, and to challenging barriers for disabled people within their everyday lives. In particular, the consolidation of findings into an accessible toolkit hopes to have practical impact beyond academia, and will be particularly beneficial for disabled people's organizations, charities and peer-support groups. In the following concluding comments, I describe these contributions more clearly.

Research Contributions

At times, the working relationship between academia and practice can be in tension, as it has been suggested throughout this thesis. Yet collaboration between these different domains is vital: 'good practice needs to be informed by good policy, which in turn needs to be informed by good scholarship' (Chakraborti, 2015b: 3). To this, I would add that good scholarship needs to be informed by the realities of everyday life which can best be gained by listening to the perspectives of those who are living within these realities. With this in mind, I believe that the findings from this research can inform the development of hate crime research and the everyday practices seeking to challenge hate crime on the ground.

Methodological contributions

According to Perry et al (2016: 574), research should strive to create 'a space in which all communities - local, regional, and global - can work together to both communicate and combat the harms of hate.' Methodologically, this research has sought to work in creative and flexible ways in order to offer more comfortable and meaningful types of engagement. To do so, I have attempted to work with disabled people and communities throughout, placing their knowledge and experience at the forefront. For example, the decision to conduct workshops within the usual meeting spaces of organizations and peer support groups had both ethical and methodological justification. Indeed, by conducting the research within the ordinary and familiar space of their affiliated groups, I sought to allow for the context of the 'everyday' to be embodied as part of the methodology. In doing so, it helped to create 'opportunities to attend to the everyday as a feature of the research, rather than viewing it as polluting or interfering' (Wood, 2014:218). As I explained in chapter four, the fieldwork setting also provided all participants with immediate support from other members and staff, if and where it was needed.

The use of arts-based methods within the first series of workshops provided an opportunity to work *with* participants in collaborative ways (Wang et al, 2017) and represent their knowledge in more diverse forms (Savin-Baden and Wimpenny, 2014). Employing arts-based methods for the first series of workshops supported a more organically collaborative process where I was able to get to know participants in less methodologically restrictive ways. Rather than leading the workshop, I was able to move freely around the workshop space and dip in and out of conversations that were guided by art practices. By focusing upon the mood-boards, and conversations that surrounded these, I was able to create a more collaborative research space that helped to disrupt the power imbalances that typically underpin researcher/researched relationships (Schubotz, 2020). Although workshops two and three were less focused upon arts-based methods, they continued to be led in accordance with the mood-boards produced during the first workshops. These workshops offered opportunities for reflection, support, collaborative meaning-making and collective resistance.

The flexibility afforded by these collaborative activities was also important to ensure that a potentially upsetting topic, such as hate crime, was managed in a safe, sensitive, and open way. Indeed, by drawing upon the support networks and connections that had already been established within organizations and groups, participants were able to *be* with their emotions and affect one another within a supportive space. While this approach helped to generate more authentic knowledge based upon real experiences, it similarly created an opportunity for participants to share frustrations, identity common-ground, and increase their confidence in speaking up about difficult subject topics (Bailey et al, 2014). Beyond this level of support, the flexibility of workshops allowed for the collectivity and communication between participants to define the overall research trajectory in a way that attended to the diversity of all of their experiences.

Bailey et al (2014) and Liddiard et al (2019) note the lack of transparency within projects working with children and young disabled people regarding the methods employed, level of participation ensued, and extent to which collaboration is embedded within research design. Being transparent about research methods requires

a level of reflexivity that recognises potential challenges as points of future development. According to Tuval-Mashiach (2017: 126), methodological transparency offers

the “audience” a way of glimpsing what is happening behind the scenes, by raising the curtain’ which “may improve the quality of the research and contribute to a better dissemination of the information yielded

In accordance with Tuval-Mashiach (2017), chapter four sought to clearly describe the methods employed within this research, including a recognition of times where the participatory goals of the research project were not fulfilled. For example, I have recognised moments where my presence as the researcher is likely to have influenced the ways that participants responded to activities and group discussions, as well as the overall control that, as the primary researcher, I have held over the research process. Thus, while I have engaged with research methods that encourage active participation, collaboration, and more creative means of involvement, I understand that this is not far enough. My attempts instead offer a point of reflection for thinking about how hate crime research can be more collaborative and participatory in the future. Of particular note, I would advocate the need for greater engagement with disabled people within the community from the onset, and in particular, with support-groups and organizations that are already fostering important relationships and learning opportunities. Importantly, future research should not simply seek involvement of disabled people’s organizations and peer support groups, but should make knowledge and research tools available to a research agenda set by disabled people themselves (Priestley et al, 2010). Doing so not only holds researchers accountable to disabled people, but would work to ensure practical benefits of research within the everyday lives of disabled people.

Practical contributions

Arts-based methods not only provided a means to creatively elicit knowledge about hate and hate crime, they also allowed for the production of a range of artefacts that have been used to support the effective dissemination of research. Indeed, although there is an increasing call for greater engagement with disabled people when doing disability research, it is often the case that their access to research findings are limited by the presence of academic jargon and institutional paywalls (Garbutt, 2009). That

is, although there is a responsibility to share findings and contributions with the wider research community, the responsibility to do so with research participants and relevant community organizations should also be upheld (Tuval-Mashiach, 2017). In accordance with this, an important contribution of this research has been the production of an accessible toolkit about hate crime. Online toolkits provide an opportunity to share research findings and recommendations beyond the barriers of academic publication. The toolkit is free to access and has been sensitively written to provide an accessible pool of educational resources. It has been organized into a number of sections in order to support accessible navigation, including pages dedicated to research findings, general project information, reflections upon collaborative work, and doing arts-based methods. It is hoped that the toolkit can be used by DPOs and peer-support groups, as well as disabled people across the country who are not currently accessing these groups. Although the benefits of this resource are yet to be determined, it is hoped that working with participants in the future will provide an opportunity to develop this accordingly.

Moving forward

In chapters two and three, I considered the criticism that much hate crime research has failed to centre disabled people's experiences. Many disabled people who participated in this research also felt that disability hate crime had either been left behind, or only ever included as an 'add on' to other identity groups. In response to this, this research has been designed with the explicit intention of beginning with disability. Following a core value of critical disability studies, I have sought to:

start with disability but never end with it: disability is the space from which to think through a host of political, theoretical and practical issues that are relevant to all (Goodley 2016: 157)

This research has been concerned primarily with disability hate crime, as opposed to a more general and expansive exploration of hate crime. Yet, this does not mean that the findings are only relevant to disabled people, or those working within disability studies. Rather, my focus upon disability hate crime has asked broader questions about the meaning of hate, the spatiality's of hate, and the harms of hate.

It has drawn attention to some of the intricate navigational tools and resistive strategies developed by disabled people as individuals and as a collective, in order to challenge hate crime. Without proposing that there is a single story of hate crime, these findings demonstrate the need for a different way of thinking about the parameters of hate crime and, in particular, how we situate this phenomenon within the context of everyday life. That is, the findings from this research (and ongoing reflections) argue for a conceptualisation of hate crime that begins with, and develops from, the diversity of everyday experience.

Despite not asking novel questions about hate crime, the questions posed within this research have sought responses from disabled people as experts of their own experiences. In doing so, I have re-conceptualized the concept of 'hate' and its broader application to the concept of 'hate crime' so that it has greater relevance to the everyday experiences of disabled people. Terminological ambiguity was identified as a key issue for many participants, and so alternative terminology was used as a means of opening up these important conversations. Adopting more familiar language also provided many participants with the confidence to consider their 'normal' experiences as hate crimes. That is, in order to talk about hate crime in a meaningful way, these findings support the value of working with familiar language, rather than against it. In doing so, participants were able to engage in complex debates that brought together their understandings of hate crime with their own experiences.

The experiences shared by participants throughout this research tell us a great deal about the nuances, complexities, and diversities of hate crime and everyday hate. Hate crime is uniquely situated within the changing context of people's everyday lives and their unpredictable encounters within ordinary everyday space. The understandings, experiences, and responses to hate crime that were shared throughout this research were diverse. So perhaps it is not plausible to determine any one single concept that can encompass the diversity of experience. Instead, these findings suggest the need to widen our conceptual boundaries of hate crime so that it can account for the diversity of experiences, feelings, and understandings that have been presented by participants in this research. Thus, rather than discount stories that are about 'bullying,' 'abuse,' or 'name-calling,' we should seek to recognise their underlying meaning and intent within wider understandings of hate. Similarly, while I agree that the language of 'hate

crime' can be a barrier to recognising and reporting experience (Sherry, 2010), I nonetheless believe that we should work with this term in more expansive and inclusive ways.

To this account, the question of defining everyday hate and hate crime remains to be as, if not more, sticky than when first posed at the beginning of this thesis. However, I believe it is this stickiness that can allow for more inclusive boundaries of hate crime that are flexible to the many different hateful encounters that are experienced by disabled people and other marginalized groups. As Chakraborti (2015a: 21; emphasis added) contends:

The search for a universally accepted, all-encompassing definition of hate crime may therefore be futile, but the search for greater conceptual and operational clarity is not. Rather, *the onus is on us to extend the boundaries of our own cognitive frameworks in order to capture the realities of hate crime victimisation and perpetration*. In so doing we can promote a *common language of hate crime discourse* - a language which is open to differences in interpretation across time, place and space, and one which can shape more effective responses to any expressions of prejudice that reinforce the persecution of "others"

Conceptual stickiness and operational clarity are not in opposition with one another. On the contrary, widening our conceptual repertoire for talking about hate crime presents an opportunity to engage with those experiences that have previously been discounted and dismissed. Following Roulstone et al (2011), I agree that it is wrong that the framing of disabled peoples experiences of 'bullying' or 'abuse' continues to impede the access and right to a rights-based approach within the criminal justice system. Yet I would also oppose any suggestion that we should stop talking about 'bullying' or 'abuse' due to the risk of closing down important conversations about these different forms of violence against disabled people. Instead, I believe that we should utilize these familiar terms as a means of generating a shared language of hate crime that provides an access point to justice within the criminal justice system, and a platform to share experiences.

In chapter three, I proposed a working definition of hate crime based upon that put forward by Walters (2011). Accordingly, hate crime has been defined in this research as:

any type of crime, *incident*, or anti-social act aimed at *intimidating and harming the victim and their wider identity community* which has been motivated or partly motivated, by a *prejudice*, based on a *generalisation about the victim's actual or perceived membership of an identity group* (which is different, at least in part, to that of the perpetrator's), and which is typically based on a *fear or belief that the victim (and others like him or her)* will encroach the offender's group identity, cultural norms and/or socio-economic security.

While this definition opens up the boundaries of hate crime to include the range of incidents, harms, and motivations that have been described by participants, it does little to generate the much needed 'shared language' that I propose above. As I have suggested, it is not enough to assume that any single definition will be interpreted in the same way, or will have direct applicability to real-life experiences.

Therefore, the bullet points below have been developed from research findings in order to accompany this definition, and work towards a more accessible way of defining a hate crime. In accordance to the definition proposed above, then, an incident could be defined as a hate crime if:

- The behaviour is described as a form of bullying, abuse, or violence (For example, hitting, name-calling, unwanted attention or harassment, spitting, being made fun of, being taken advantage of, and/or being used by somebody for their personal gain).
- The behaviour is harmful for the individual and their wider identity community, who might feel upset, unwanted, and unhappy about themselves. It might also cause the individual and others to avoid certain places or feel at risk of being targeted.
- The behaviour appears to be because of their identity or something specific about the individual and others like them (for example, disability, age, race,

religion, sexual orientation, gender, transgender identity, biological sex, social status etc).

These explanatory points hope to encapsulate the understandings and perspectives shared by participants throughout the research, as well as sit neatly within a workable conceptualisation of hate. These points take into account the range of terminology offered by participants, both in terms of what hate crime is, why it happens, and who it targets. They do not intend to be rigid assessors of what should, and should not be classified as a hate crime, but instead as prompts to help talk and think about hate crime in more explanatory and expansive ways. Importantly, the descriptors significantly expand on current conceptualisations that, as I have argued throughout, do not attend to the everyday experiences of hate that many disabled people encounter. This expansion is important not only for welcoming the diverse range of incidents that are experienced currently, but for being flexible to the changing face of violence in modernity. As the capitalist mode of production continues to push towards a more responsive, active, agile, and flexible workforce, signs of vulnerability and difference are increasingly problematised (Howarth, 2014). With this in mind, the proposed understanding of hate crime aims to be responsive the range of bodies that become othered, and the diverse ways that this can be enacted.

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List of Abbreviations

ARC	Association for Real Change
CDA	Crime and Disorder Act
CfP	College for Policing
CJA	Coroners and Justice Act
CJIA	Criminal Justice and Immigration Act
CJA	Criminal Justice Act
CJJI	Criminal Justice Joint Inspection
CSEW	Crime Survey for England and Wales
CPS	Crown Prosecution Service
DWP	Department for Work and Pensions
DPO	Disabled People's Organizations
EHRC	Equality and Human Rights Commission
ESCR	Economic and Social Research Council
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender
NCH	National Coalition for the Homeless
POA	Public Order Act
RRA	Race Relations Act
RRHA	Racial and Religious Hatred Act
UPIAS	Union of the Physically Impaired Against Segregation

Appendix A

Fieldwork Schedule

Workshop 1

1. Introductions and Refreshments

An opportunity for participants to get to know each other, if they don't know each other already, and relax in the setting. It is also an opportunity for me to get to know the participants outside of the time for recorded data generation.

2. Overview and reminder of the research, leading to discussion and completion of informed consent.

I will spend some time providing an overview of the research and invite participants to ask questions or raise concerns. This will be informal and hopes to provide further clarification of the project. I'll go through the research info sheet and invite discussion around this.

Explain audio recording, and that I will take photos of the mood-boards created during the workshop

Explain about the purpose of using mood-boards to generate discussion and different ways of talking about hate crime. Reassure participants that the mood-boards are entirely their own creations, and that there is no right or wrong way of doing this. Explain the resources that are available for them to use if they would like.

After around 1 hour, bring the activities to a close and briefly explain about the purpose of the next workshop. Invite questions, and give huge thanks for their involvement so far.

Workshop 2

Ensure everyone is happy to continue and outline the plan for this workshop.

Explain the purpose of the workshop, which is to reflect upon their mood-boards and to discuss these as a group.

Reflective prompts – these are potential prompts where direction is needed to generate conversations between members about the mood-boards.

- Can you describe your mood-board to the rest of the group?
- Why did you choose certain words/pictures?
- Does the mood-board describe any of your own experiences?
- How does your/others mood-boards make you feel?
- What can these mood-boards teach us about hate crime?

Explain that the next workshop will be in a few months, once I have done some preliminary work on the data.

Workshop 3

Brief reminder of what we have done already in the workshops, and why I am doing the research. Again, ensure that all participants are happy to continue being involved in the research.

Explain where I am up to now, and what we will be doing in this final workshop.

Show participants the six concept maps that I have produced, and explain that we will be discussing these key ideas and will be adding to these together.

What next? Explain that I will be writing up the findings so will disappear for a while. Another huge thank you for their involvement and that I will be in touch to update them on the findings.

Appendix B

Participant Demographic

Research Name	Age Group	Gender Identity	Sex	Race	Religion	Sexual Orientation
Arjun	26-35	Male	Male	British Asian	Muslim	Heterosexual
Samir	26-35	Male	Male	British Asian	Sikh	Heterosexual
Caitlin	26-35	Female	Female	White British	N/A	Heterosexual
Terry	46-55	Male	Male	White British	N/A	Heterosexual
Billy	46-55	Male	Male	White British	N/A	Heterosexual
Sabrina	46-55	Female	Female	White British	N/A	Heterosexual
Michael	46-55	Male	Male	White British	Church of England	Heterosexual
Jenny	n/a	Female	Female	White British	N/A	n/a
Violet	26-35	Female	Female	White British	N/A	Heterosexual
Harriet	46-55	Female	Female	White British	Church of England	Heterosexual
Gareth	56 and over	Male	Male	White British	N/A	Heterosexual
Mickey	26-35	Male	Male	Mixed Race	Christian	Heterosexual
Freddie	46-55	Male	Male	White British	Church of England	Heterosexual
Andrew	26-35	Male	Male	White British	Christian	Heterosexual
Alice	26-35	Female	Female	White British	N/A	Heterosexual
Tim	56 and over	Male	Male	White British	N/A	Heterosexual
Alex	46-55	Male	Male	White British	Church of England	Heterosexual
Bob	36-45	Male	Male	White British	Christian	Heterosexual
Joe	26-35	Male	Male	White British	N/A	Heterosexual
Maisie	26-35	Female	Female	White British	Christian	Heterosexual
Robbie W	56 and over	Male	Male	White British	Christian	n/a
Angelica	26-35	Female	Female	White British	Catholic	n/a
Kelly-Marie	46-55	Female	Female	White British	Catholic	n/a
Rose	26-35	Female	Female	White British	Church of England	Heterosexual
Michael P	n/a	Male	Male	White Irish	Catholic	Heterosexual
Dolly	46-55	Female	Female	White British	Catholic	Heterosexual
Lisa	36-45	Female	Female	White British	Catholic	n/a
Lionel	36-45	Male	Male	White British	n/a	n/a
John	56 and over	Male	Male	White British	n/a	n/a
Mary	56 and over	Female	Female	White British	Roman Catholic	Heterosexual
Elvis	56 and over	Male	Male	White British	Church of England	Heterosexual
Joyce	46-55	Female	Female	White British	n/a	Heterosexual
Fifi	56 and over	Female	Female	White British	n/a	Heterosexual
John Dovet	26-35	Male	Male	White British	n/a	n/a
Amanda Depp	36-45	Female	Female	White British	Catholic	Heterosexual
Mr Positive	56 and over	Male	Male	White British	Protestant	100% male
Sinead	18-25	Female	Female	English/Scotti	n/a	n/a
Eileen	46-55	Female	Female	White British	Catholic	Heterosexual
Bev	56 and over	Female	Female	White British	Methodis	n/a
Rihanna	26-35	Female	Female	Pakistani	Islam	Heterosexual
Hannah	46-55	Female	Female	White British	Church of England	n/a
Sally	46-55	Female	Female	White British	Church of England	n/a
Svannah	36-45	Female	Female	Asian	Muslim	Heterosexual
Shirley	46-55	Female	Female	n/a	n/a	n/a
archaeologist	56 and over	Male	Male	White British	Protestant	normal'
Francis Emerson	18-25	Transmasculine	Female	Mixed White	Unitarian/Free Chr	Bisexual
Richard Jackson	26-35	Male	Male	n/a	n/a	Gay
Mr Twilight	26-35	Male	Male	British	n/a	Gay
Beater	26-35	Female	Female	White British	n/a	Lesbian
Kezza	26-35	Female	Female	White British	n/a	Lesbian
David	26-35	Male	Male	White British	n/a	Bisexual
Kieran	46-55	Male	Male	British	Roman Catholic	Gay
Gordon	26-35	Male	Male	British	n/a	Gay
Sapphire	18-25	Female	Female			
Arnold	36-45	Male	Male	British	Catholic	Heterosexual
Taylor	36-45	Female	Female	British	Church of England	Bisexual
Aaron Presley	n/a	Male	Male	British	Catholic	Heterosexual
Dr Who	46-55	Male	Male	British	Church of England	Heterosexual
Delboy	56 and over	Male	Male	White British	n/a	Heterosexual
Brandon	18-25	Male	Male	British	Church of England	Heterosexual
Tone	56 and over	Male	Male	White British	Church of England	Heterosexual
Doria Skadinski	36-45	Female	Female	n/a	Christian	Heterosexual
Shaz	56 and over	Male	Male	White Irish	Christian	Heterosexual

Appendix C
About You Information Sheet

About You

Real Name:

Research Name:

Age Group: 18-25
 26-35
 36-45
 46-55
 56 and over

Gender Identity:

Sex:

Race:

Religion:

Sexual Orientation:

Anything else that you feel is an important part of who you are:

Parent Codes	Challenging hate	Identity	Personal harms	Police	The everyday	Vulnerability
Child Codes	Education	Age	Acceptance	Assumptions	Lack of activity	Feeling vulnerable
	Resistance	Disability	Emotional labour	Previous interactions	Social life	Made vulnerable by experiences
	Management	Gender	Avoidance	Reporting	structured life	
	Prevention	Religion	Difficulty challenging			
	wanting to challenge	Sexual Orientation	Holding it in			
		Race	Negative feelings			
			Not knowing how to react			

Appendix F

Ethical Review

The Secretariat
University of Leeds
Leeds, LS2 9JT
Tel: 0113 343 4873
Email: ResearchEthics@leeds.ac.uk



UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

Leah Burch
Sociology and Social Policy
University of Leeds
Leeds, LS2 9JT

**ESSL, Environment and LUBS (AREA) Faculty Research Ethics Committee
University of Leeds**

Dear Leah

Title of study: **Everyday experiences of hate in the lives of disabled people: intersectionality and resistance**
Ethics reference: **AREA 18-002**

I am pleased to inform you that the above research application has been reviewed by the ESSL, Environment and LUBS (AREA) Faculty Research Ethics Committee and I can confirm a favourable ethical opinion as of the date of this letter. The following documentation was considered:

Document	Version	Date
AREA 18-002 Ethical review Leah Burch.pdf	1	03/08/18
AREA 18-002 Call for Participants.docx	1	03/08/18
AREA 18-002 Email to Gatekeepers.docx	1	03/08/18
AREA 18-002 Research info sheet.docx	1	03/08/18
AREA 18-002 Informed Consent Form.docx	1	03/08/18
AREA 18-002 Distress Protocol.docx	1	03/08/18
AREA 18-002 Data Management Plan.docx	1	03/08/18

Committee members made the following comments about your application:

- This is a well written, well thought out proposal. The committee would like to pass on its thanks for thinking through the issues so thoroughly and providing all the documentation to support this application.

Please notify the committee if you intend to make any amendments to the information in your ethics application as submitted at date of this approval as all changes must receive ethical approval prior to implementation. The amendment form is available at <http://ris.leeds.ac.uk/EthicsAmendment>.

Please note: You are expected to keep a record of all your approved documentation and other documents relating to the study, including any risk assessments. This should be kept in your study file, which should be readily available for audit purposes. You will be given a two week

notice period if your project is to be audited. There is a checklist listing examples of documents to be kept which is available at <http://ris.leeds.ac.uk/EthicsAudits>.

We welcome feedback on your experience of the ethical review process and suggestions for improvement. Please email any comments to ResearchEthics@leeds.ac.uk.

Yours sincerely

Jennifer Blaikie

Senior Research Ethics Administrator, the Secretariat

On behalf of Dr Kahryn Hughes, Chair, [AREA Faculty Research Ethics Committee](#)



University Research Ethics Committee - application for ethical review

Please email your completed application form along with any relevant supporting documents to ResearchEthics@leeds.ac.uk (or to FMHUniEthics@leeds.ac.uk if you are based in the Faculty of Medicine and Health) at least 6 weeks before the research/ fieldwork is due to start. Dentistry and Psychology applicants should follow their School's procedures for submitting an application.

Ethics reference (leave blank if unknown)	Student number (if a student application)	Grant reference (if externally funded)	Module code (if applicable)

Faculty or School Research Ethics Committee to review the application (put a 'X' next to your choice)	Arts, Humanities and Cultures (PVAR)
	Biological Science (BIOSCI)
	X ESSL, Environment and LUBS (AREA)
	MaPS and Engineering (MEEC)
	School of Dentistry (DREC)
	School of Healthcare (SHREC)
	School of Medicine (SoMREC)
	School of Psychology (SoPREC)

Indicate what type of ethical review you are applying for:	X	Student project (PhD, Masters or Undergraduate)
		Staff project (externally or internally funded)

Section 1: Basic project details			
1.1 Research title	Everyday experiences of hate in the lives of disabled people: intersectionality and resistance		
1.2 Research start date (dd/mm/yy)	Proposed fieldwork start date (dd/mm/yy)	Proposed fieldwork end date (dd/mm/yy)	Research end date (dd/mm/yy)
31.09.2017	01.09.2018	01.08.2019	31.09.2020
Yes	No		
X		1.3 I confirm that I have read and understood the current version of the University of Leeds Research Ethics Policy. <i>The Policy is available at http://ris.leeds.ac.uk/ResearchEthicsPolicies.</i>	
X		1.4 I confirm that I have read and understood the current version of the University of Leeds Research Data Management Policy. <i>The policy is available at https://library.leeds.ac.uk/info/14062/research_data_management/68/research_data_management_policy.</i>	
X		1.5 I confirm that I have read and understood the current version of the University of Leeds Information Protection Policy. <i>The policy is available at http://it.leeds.ac.uk/info/116/policies/249/information_protection_policy</i>	
X		1.6 I confirm that NHS ethical review is not required for this project. <i>Refer to http://ris.leeds.ac.uk/NHSethicalreview for guidance in identifying circumstances which require NHS review</i>	

X	1.7 Will the research involve NHS staff recruited as potential research participants (by virtue of their professional role) or NHS premises/ facilities? <i>Please note: If yes, NHS R&D management permission or local management permission may also be needed. Refer to http://ris.leeds.ac.uk/NHSEthicalreview.</i>
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Section 2: Contact details	
2.1 Name of applicant	Leah Burch
2.2 Position (eg PI, Co-I, RA, student)	PhD Student
2.3 Department/ School	School of Sociology & Social Policy
2.4 Faculty	Social Sciences
2.5 Work address (usually at the University of Leeds)	School of Sociology & Social Policy, University of Leeds, Leeds, West Yorkshire, LS2 9JT
2.6 Telephone number	07375053070
2.7 University of Leeds email address	sslfb@leeds.ac.uk

Section 3: Summary of the research
<p>3.1 In plain English provide a brief summary of the aims and objectives of the research. (max 300 words). The summary should briefly describe</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the background to the research and why it is important, • the questions it will answer and potential benefits, • the study design and what is involved for participants. <p><i>Your answers should be easily understood by someone who is not experienced in the field you are researching, (eg a member of the public) - otherwise it may be returned to you. Where technical terms are used they should be explained. Any acronyms not generally known should be described in full.</i></p> <p>There is a lack of research focusing upon disabled hate crime. Thus, this research aims to generate a greater understanding of how self-identified disabled people experience everyday hate and hate crime, and what meanings these experiences take on. This project invites participants to share experiences of hate crime in relation to disability, race, religion, sexual orientation, gender identity, social status, alternative subcultures, and/or age. A consideration of intersectionality hopes to explore hate crime as a complex phenomenon that can occur at the intersection of multiple, overlapping identity intersections.</p> <p>While the harms of hate crime are well-researched, there is less awareness of how disabled people manage everyday hate and hate crime. Therefore, this project seeks to unveil narratives of collectivity and resistance that can arise in response to hate crime. Such an approach recognizes the harms of hate, whilst simultaneously harnessing some of the ways that disabled people navigate everyday hate and hate crime, both in their individual lives as well as collectively.</p> <p>This research employs a longitudinal, multiple methods approach to researching experiences of hate crime. Multiple methods offer different means of participation and attends to the complex and</p>

changing meaning of hate experiences. Specifically, this research will employ workshops, diary-making, and semi-structured interviews. Workshops will be conducted both at the beginning and end of data collection. These initial sessions will encourage preliminary conversations about what hate and hate crime means. A small number of participants will be invited to engage with the process of diary-making and semi-structured interviews simultaneously over a time period of around three months to record experiences as they unfold, or to reflect upon past experiences. Once preliminary data analysis has taken place, final workshops ask participants to reflect and discuss preliminary findings, and generate recommendations for future research and practice.

3.2 Where will the research be undertaken?	Within the confines of chosen organizations (gatekeepers) that offer the facility to report hate crime. A suitable space will be identified and the researcher will work closely with the gatekeepers to ensure a safe, appropriate and accessible research environment.
3.3 Who is funding the research?	Economic Social Research Council

NB: If this research will be financially supported by the US Department of Health and Human Services or any of its divisions, agencies or programmes please ensure the additional funder requirements are complied with. Further guidance is available at <http://ris.leeds.ac.uk/FWAcompliance> and you may also contact your [FRIO](#) for advice.

Section 4: Research data and impact
 You may find the following guidance helpful:

- [Research data management guidance](#)
- [Advice on planning your research project](#)
- [Dealing with issues relating to confidentiality and anonymisation](#)
- [Funder requirements and University of Leeds Research Data Management Policy](#)

4.1 What is the data source? (Indicate with an 'X' all that apply)

X	New data collected for this research
	Data previously collected for other research
	Data previously collected for non-research purposes
	Data already in the public domain
	Other, please state: _____.

4.2 How will the data be collected? (Indicate with an 'X')

X	Through one-to-one research interviews
X	Through focus groups
X	Self-completion (eg questionnaires, diaries)
	Through observation
	Through autoethnographic research
	Through experiments/ user-testing involving participants
	From external research collaborators
X	Other, please state: ___Workshops_____.

4.3 How will you make your research data available to others in line with: the University's, funding bodies' and publishers' policies on making the results of publically funded research publically available (in compliance with UK data protection legislation)? (max 200 words)

In line with ESRC funding requirements, the thesis will be made available on the University's Research Data Repository and UK data archive. I also intend to present my research at conferences, as well as write some short and accessible pieces of writing to reach the wider population.

In all of the above, care will be taken to ensure anonymity as far as possible. All participants will choose pseudonyms, and potential identity signifiers will be blurred and reduced to reduce the risk of identification.

4.4 How do you intend to share the research data, both within and outside the research team? (Indicate with an 'X')

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Depositing in a specialist data centre or archive
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Submitting to a journal to support a publication
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Depositing in a self-archiving system or an institutional repository
<input type="checkbox"/>	Dissemination via a project or institutional website
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Informal peer-to-peer exchange
<input type="checkbox"/>	No plans to report or disseminate the data
<input type="checkbox"/>	Other, please state: _____.

4.5 How do you intend to report and disseminate the results of the study? (Indicate with an 'X')

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Peer reviewed journals
<input type="checkbox"/>	Internal report
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Conference presentation
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Publication on website
<input type="checkbox"/>	Other publication
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Submission to regulatory authorities
<input type="checkbox"/>	No plans to report or disseminate the results
<input type="checkbox"/>	Other, please state: _____.

4.6 Give details of the expected impact of the research. Further guidance is available at <http://www.rcuk.ac.uk/innovation/impacts>. (max 200 words)

This research aims to create a platform for the experiences of disabled people about the phenomenon of hate crime. Doing so, I hope to inform as well as contribute to academic debates surrounding hate crime and present a case for greater recognition of disability within current hate crime scholarship. By developing a greater and more nuanced conceptualization of hate crime, I also hope to offer some solutions to the ambiguity of the term, and offer a clearer way of understanding and capturing the diverse range of relevant experiences. This will be fruitful to the development of an efficient and relevant policy framework.

In terms of social impacts, I hope to raise awareness of hate crime in the lives of disabled people and thus, encourage more individuals to report their own incidents. In addition, greater public awareness strives to influence more critical and reflective thinking in terms of our own attitudes and actions.

Section 5: Protocols

Which protocols will be complied with? (Indicate with an 'X'). There may be circumstances where it makes sense not to	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Data protection, anonymisation and storage and sharing of research data
	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Informed consent
	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Verbal consent

comply with a protocol, this is fine but should be clarified in your application.	Reimbursement of research participants
	Low risk observation

Section 6: Additional ethical issues	
6.1 Indicate with an 'X' in the left-hand column whether the research involves any of the following:	
X	Discussion of sensitive topics, or topics that could be considered sensitive
X	Prolonged or frequent participant involvement
	Potential for adverse environmental impact
	The possibility of harm to participants or others (including the researcher(s))
	Participants taking part in the research without their knowledge and consent (eg covert observation of people in non-public places)
	The use of drugs, placebos or invasive, intrusive or potentially harmful procedures of any kind
	Food substances or drinks being given to participants (other than refreshments)
	Vitamins or any related substances being given to participants
	Acellular blood, urine or tissue samples obtained from participants (ie no NHS requirement)
	Members of the public in a research capacity (participant research)
X	Participants who are particularly vulnerable (eg children, people with learning disabilities, offenders)
	People who are unable to give their own informed consent
	Researcher(s) in a position of authority over participants, eg as employers, lecturers, teachers or family members
	Financial inducements (other than reasonable expenses and compensation for time) being offered to participants
X	Cooperation of an intermediary to gain access to research participants or material (eg head teachers, prison governors, chief executives)
	Potential conflicts of interest
	Internet participants or other visual/ vocal methods where participants may be identified
X	Scope for incidental findings, ie unplanned additional findings or concerns for the safety or wellbeing of participants.
	The sharing of data or confidential information beyond the initial consent given
	Translators or interpreters
	Research conducted outside the UK
	An international collaborator
	The transfer of data outside the European Economic Area
	Third parties collecting data
	Other ethical clearances or permissions
6.2 For the ethical issues indicated in 6.1 provide details of any additional ethical issues the research may involve and explain how these issues will be addressed. (max 200 words)	

Sensitive topics: Hate crime is a sensitive topic, risking long-lasting emotional impacts. The researcher will approach the topic carefully ensure research spaces are safe and welcoming. A distress protocol has also been developed, and will be shared with participants during informed consent to show what precautions are in place.

Prolonged involvement: The longitudinal nature aims to capture the complex and changing meanings and experiences of hate crime and will require participation over around 8 months. This includes the time period for workshops (all participants involved), and diary-making and interviews (10-12 participants involved). Ongoing consent takes place at every stage.

Participants who are 'vulnerable': Vulnerability can lead to the exclusion of marginalized voices from the research process (Carey & Griffiths, 2017; Fisher, 2012). This research invites the participation of people with learning difficulties, placing the onus not on vulnerability, but the provision of clear aims and objectives of the research, and sensitive management of the research process and ongoing consent.

Scope for incidental findings: See 8.1 for details regarding disclosure of unreported crimes or abuse (See also protocol 'disclosure of harm/unreported crime')

Section 7: Recruitment and consent process
For guidance refer to <http://ris.leeds.ac.uk/InvolvingResearchParticipants> and the [research ethics protocols](#).

7.1 State approximately how much data and/ or how many participants are going to be involved.

Approximately 35-40 participants will be recruited. All participants will take part in workshops, and 10-12 participants will be invited to also take part in diary-making and semi-structured interviews. Data generated will therefore include transcriptions and artifacts from workshops, the content of the diaries, as well as interview transcriptions.

7.2 How was that number of participants decided upon? (max 200 words)
Please note: The number of participants should be sufficient to achieve worthwhile results but should not be so high as to involve unnecessary recruitment and burdens for participants. This is especially pertinent in research which involves an element of risk. Describe here how many participants will be recruited, and whether this will be enough to answer the research question. If you have received formal statistical advice then please indicate so here, and describe that advice.

The total number of 35-40 participants is suggested to be sufficient to answer the questions of this research. The research does not seek to be representative of all disabled people, and instead seeks to explore some of the diverse experiences of hate and hate crime. While not a large sample size, there are several data sampling points which will generate rich and detailed data. All participants contribute to the process of data generation at different points. Workshops hope to generate rich transcriptions of group discussions as well as artefacts produced by participants. Diary-making and interviewing also enables rich data generation, presented via written, audio and visual means alongside interview transcriptions.

The collection of multiple types of data addresses the different research questions, and offers different levels and types of knowledge. The focus upon meaning and experience requires more personal methods that work with fewer participants but to a greater level of reflection and depth.

7.3 How are the participants and/ or data going to be selected? List the inclusion and exclusion criteria. (max 200 words)

Inclusion criteria: Self-identified disabled people who have experienced hate/hate crime in any form, based upon their sense of identity. This includes race, religion, sexual orientation, gender identity, disability/impairment, social status, alternative subcultures and/or age.

While these criteria intend to be inclusive of diverse experiences, and does not seek to sample based upon impairment type, it remains that a number of individuals will be indirectly excluded. For example, individuals who may be medically labelled as having an impairment, but do not self-identify as

<p>disabled, or those individuals who do not relate the terming of 'hate' and 'hate crime' to their own experiences.</p>
<p>7.4 For each type of methodology, describe the process by which you will obtain and document freely given informed consent for the collection, use and reuse of the research data. Explain the storage arrangements for the signed consent forms. <i>Guidance is available at http://ris.leeds.ac.uk/InvolvingResearchParticipants. The relevant documents (information sheet and consent form) need to be attached to the end of this application. If you are not using an information sheet and/ or seeking written consent, please provide an explanation.</i></p>
<p>Participants will complete a formal informed consent form prior to the first workshop. Informed consent can be given in the written or verbal form. In terms of accessibility, it might be the case that verbal consent is more appropriate. If this is the case, informed consent will be recorded and conducted in the presence of the gatekeeper. In accordance to the University's policy on data storage and management, all written consent forms will be stored in a locked draw in the researcher's office, as well as scanned and saved to the University M drive. Ongoing, verbal consent will take place prior to each of the research stages where participants are involved.</p> <p>As explained within the informed consent form, data generated will be re-used for dissemination in terms of conference presentations and publications. Once final workshops have been conducted, participants will be asked to consent again to this via written (or oral where appropriate) consent.</p> <p>Workshops: Prior to beginning workshops, participants will be asked to provide verbal consent. I will reiterate the aims and objectives of the research, as well as detail in more detail planned focus group activities. After this, participants will be asked if they consent to further participation or would like to withdraw.</p> <p>Diary-methods: Participants will be given advice and structure (where requested) in terms of their diaries. Participants will be made aware that they can withdraw from diary-making at any time. Participants will also be asked on completion of their diaries if they still consent to this being included, and continuing with the research, with the option of removing particular extracts of their diaries.</p> <p>Semi-structured interviews: Ongoing, verbal consent prior to the interview will take place. I will ask participants whether they feel comfortable discussing the content of their diaries, as well as asking if there are any aspects they would not like to expand on during the interview.</p> <p>Participants who take part in the interviews will be asked to review their transcripts, with the offer of editing or deleting particular sections.</p>
<p>7.5 Describe the arrangements for withdrawal from participation and withdrawal of data/ tissue. <i>Please note: It should be made clear to participants in advance if there is a point after which they will not be able to withdraw their data. See also http://ris.leeds.ac.uk/ResearchDataManagement. (max 200 words)</i></p>
<p>The process of withdrawal will be explained within the information sheet, as well as reiterated during ongoing consent in all stages of the research. Participants have the right to withdraw from the research process in the duration of their participation. Participants will be advised that they do not have to provide any explanation.</p> <p>Due to the time constraints involved with completing and submitting a PhD thesis, there will be a date that withdrawal will not be possible (with exception of exceptional circumstances). Participants will be advised that withdrawal is not possible after 1.09.2019, as this moves into the researcher's final write-up year. There will be flexibility with this, however, dependent upon the situation of participants.</p>
<p>7.6 Provide details of any incentives you are going to use and explain their purpose. (max 200 words) <i>Please note: Payment of participants should be ethically justified. The FREC will wish to be reassured that research participants are not being paid for taking risks or that payments are set at a level which would unduly influence participants. A clear statement should be included in the participant information sheet setting out the position on reimbursement of any expense incurred.</i></p>

One of the primary incentives for recruiting participants is the ability to provide a platform to discuss hate experiences with the intention of informing academic debate and policy development. Based upon a previous research on hate speech with disabled people, recognition of their experiences and the ability to influence debate is highly valued.

Drinks and light refreshments will be providing both in the focus groups, as well as interviews. Reimbursement will also be offered to participants to cover the expense of their travel.

Section 8: Data protection, confidentiality and anonymisation

Guidance is available at <http://ris.leeds.ac.uk/ConfidentialityAnonymisation>

8.1 How identifiable will the participants be? (Indicate with an 'X').

	Fully identifiable
X	Identity of subject protected by code numbers/ pseudonyms
	Fully anonymised
	Anonymised but potentially identifiable
	Data only in aggregated form
	Other

8.2 Describe the measures you will take to deal with issues of anonymity. (max 200 words)

The researcher is committed to ensuring the anonymity of participants as far as possible. All participants are invited to choose their own pseudonym to protect their identity. Identifying factors (such as names of places, organizations, secondary people) will also be anonymized, including any contextual information about the lives of participants.

The nature of this research means that anonymity is particularly important for the protection of participants. Participants may share experiences of hate crime that are not reported, or where perpetrators are known to participants. Anonymity will be managed case-by-case, dependent upon how far information shared increases the identification of participants.

8.3 Describe the measures you will take to deal with issues of confidentiality, including any limits to confidentiality. (Please note that research data which appears in reports or other publications is not confidential, even if it is fully anonymised. For a fuller explanation see <http://ris.leeds.ac.uk/ConfidentialityAnonymisation>). (max 300 words)

The nature of the research means confidentiality can not be promised to participants, although best efforts will be made to maintain this. Participants are advised that there are limits to their confidentiality, particularly in relation to the risk of harm and disclosure of unreported crimes or abuse. If participants share with the researcher that they are at risk, then the researcher will work with the participant to support them to either report the incident, or provide details for further support. The researcher will work closely with supervisors if this arises in order to take the best possible outcome for the participants. (See Protocol 'disclosure of harm/unreported crime')

Participants are also advised that their data will appear in publications and presentations. However, participants are able to decide whether certain sections of their data are not able to be used for this purpose, thus keeping that information confidential.

8.4 Who will have access to the research data apart from the research team (eg translators, authorities)? (max 100 words)

The research data will be available to the researcher and supervisory team. Participants taking part in diaries and interviews will also have access to their own transcripts and data.

8.5 Describe the process you will use to ensure the compliance of third parties with ethical standards. (max 100 words)

<p>Before organizations are asked to help with the recruiting of participants, I will arrange to meet with an organizing member to discuss the project, as well as the ethical considerations that have been put into place. Due to the role of these organizations as also providing a hate crime reporting facility, it is assumed that they will have some understanding of ethical behaviour, particularly in relation to protection against harm.</p> <p>To attempt to ensure that third parties comply with ethical standards, I will maintain regular communication and generate ongoing discussions concerning the importance of ethics.</p>
<p>8.6 Where and in what format(s) will research data, consent forms and administrative records be retained? (max 200 words) <i>Please note: Mention hard copies as well as electronic data. Electronic data should be stored securely and appropriately and in accordance with the University of Leeds Data Protection Policy available at http://www.leeds.ac.uk/secretariat/data_protection_code_of_practice.html.</i></p>
<p>Research data, forms and records will be kept as both physical and electronic copies.</p> <p>All physical copies will be kept in a locked draw in the desk of a card-access shared PhD office. Electronic copies will be stored on the University of Leeds M drive, in accordance to the University of Leeds Data Protection Policy.</p>
<p>8.7 If online surveys are to be used, where will the responses be stored? (max 200 words) <i>Refer to:</i> http://it.leeds.ac.uk/info/173/database_and_subscription_services/206/bristol_online_survey_accounts and http://ris.leeds.ac.uk/SecuringResearchData for guidance.</p>
<p>n/a</p>
<p>8.8 Give details and outline the measures you will take to assess and to mitigate any foreseeable risks (other than those already mentioned) to the participants, the researchers, the University of Leeds or anyone else involved in the research? (max 300 words)</p> <p>The researcher will reflect upon the research process as it is being conducted and will attempt to manage any risks that do arise on the field as they occur. Protocol 'disclosure of harm/unreported crime' details how the researcher will respond to information provided by participants that suggests they are at risk of harm. Additionally, the researcher will have close supervision throughout the fieldwork to assess any risks as they occur.</p> <p>Other than those already discussed, there are no other foreseeable risks at this point in the research.</p>

Section 9: Other ethical issues		
Yes	No	(Indicate with an 'X')
X		<p>9.1 Is a health and safety risk assessment required for the project? <i>Please note: Risk assessments are a University requirement for all fieldwork taking place off campus. The risk assessment forms and further guidance on planning for fieldwork in a variety of settings can be found on the University's Health & Safety website along with further information about risk assessment:</i> http://www.leeds.ac.uk/safety/fieldwork/index.htm. Contact your Faculty Health and Safety Manager for further advice. See also http://ris.leeds.ac.uk/HealthAndSafetyAdvice.</p>
	X	<p>9.2 Is a Disclosure and Barring Service check required for the researcher? <i>Please note: It is the researcher's responsibility to check whether a DBS check is required and to obtain one if it is needed.</i></p>

9.3 Any other relevant information
9.4 Provide details of any ethical issues on which you would like to ask the Committee's advice.

Section 10: Further details for student projects (complete if applicable)	
Your supervisor is required to provide email confirmation that they have read, edited and agree with the form above. It is a good idea to involve your supervisor as much as possible with your application. If you are unsure how to answer any of the questions do ask your supervisors for advice.	
10.1 Qualification working towards (indicate with an 'X')	
<input type="checkbox"/>	Bachelor's degree
<input type="checkbox"/>	Master's degree (including PgCert, PgDip)
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Research degree (ie PhD)
10.2 Primary supervisor's contact details	
Name (title, first name, last name)	Doctor Thomas Campbell
Department/ School/ Institute	Social Sciences, School of Sociology and Social Policy, University of Leeds
Telephone number	0113 343 0135
University of Leeds email address	t.w.campbell@leeds.ac.uk
10.3 Second supervisor's contact details	
Name (title, first name, last name)	Professor Mark Priestley
Department/ School/ Institute	Social Sciences, School of Sociology and Social Policy, University of Leeds
Telephone number	0113 343 4417
University of Leeds email address	m.a.priestley@leeds.ac.uk
Yes	No
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10.4 To be completed by the student's supervisor	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The topic merits further research	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I believe that the student has the skills to carry out the research	

Section 11: Other members of the research team (complete if applicable)	
Name (title, first name, last name)	Mark Priestley
Role (eg PI, Co-I)	Supervisor
Department/ School/ Institute	School of Sociology and Social Policy
Telephone number	x34417

University of Leeds email address	m.a.priestley@leeds.ac.uk
Name (title, first name, last name)	
Role (eg PI, Co-I)	
Department/ School/ Institute	
Telephone number	
University of Leeds email address	
Name (title, first name, last name)	
Role (eg PI, Co-I)	
Department/ School/ Institute	
Telephone number	
University of Leeds email address	

Section 12: Supporting documents	
<p>Indicate with an 'X' which supporting documents have been included with your application.</p> <p>Wherever possible the research title on consent forms, information sheets, other supporting documentation and this application should be consistent. The title should make clear (where appropriate) what the research is about. There may be instances where a different title is desirable on information to participants (for example – in projects which necessarily involve an element of deception or if giving the title might skew the results of the research). It is not imperative that the titles are consistent, or detailed, but where possible then they should be.</p> <p>Supporting documents should be saved with a meaningful file name and version control, eg 'Participant_Info_Sheet_v1' or 'Parent_Consent_From_v2'. Refer to the examples at http://ris.leeds.ac.uk/InvolvingResearchParticipants.</p>	<p>X Information sheet(s)</p> <p><i>Please note: Include different versions for different groups of participants eg for children and adults if applicable. Refer to http://ris.leeds.ac.uk/InvolvingResearchParticipants for guidance in producing participant information sheets.</i></p> <p>Please note: an easy-read version of this is being investigated.</p>
	<p>X Consent form(s)</p> <p><i>Please note: Include different versions for different groups of participants eg for children and adults if applicable. Refer to http://ris.leeds.ac.uk/InvolvingResearchParticipants for guidance in producing participant consent forms.</i></p> <p>Please note: an easy-read version of this is being investigated.</p>
	<p>X Recruitment materials</p> <p><i>Please note: Eg poster, email etc used to invite people to participate in your research project.</i></p> <p>Please note: an easy-read version of this is being investigated.</p>
	<p>X Letter/ email seeking permission from host/ gatekeeper</p>
	<p>X Questionnaire/ interview questions</p>
	<p>X Health and safety risk assessment</p> <p><i>Please note: Risk assessments are a University requirement for all fieldwork taking place off campus. The risk assessment forms and further guidance on planning for fieldwork in a variety of settings can be found on the University's Health & Safety website along with further information about risk assessment: http://www.leeds.ac.uk/safety/fieldwork/index.htm. Contact your Faculty Health and Safety Manager for further advice. Also refer to http://ris.leeds.ac.uk/HealthAndSafetyAdvice.</i></p>
	<p>X Data management plan</p> <p>Refer to https://library.leeds.ac.uk/info/14062/research_data_management/62/data_management_planning</p>

Section 13: Sharing information for training purposes		
Yes	No	(Indicate with an 'X')
X		I would be content for information in the application to be used for research ethics and research data management training purposes within the University of Leeds. All personal identifiers and references to researchers, funders and research units would be removed.

Section 14: Declaration		
<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. The information in this form is accurate to the best of my knowledge and belief and I take full responsibility for it.2. I undertake to abide by the University's ethical and health & safety policies and guidelines, and the ethical principles underlying good practice guidelines appropriate to my discipline.3. If the research is approved I undertake to adhere to the study protocol, the terms of this application and any conditions set out by the Research Ethics Committee.4. I undertake to ensure that all members of the research team are aware of the ethical issues and the contents of this application form.5. I undertake to seek an ethical opinion from the REC before implementing any amendments to the protocol.6. I undertake to submit progress/ end of project reports if required.7. I am aware of my responsibility to be up to date and comply with the requirements of the law and relevant guidelines relating to security and confidentiality of personal data.8. I understand that research records/ data may be subject to inspection for audit purposes if required in future.9. I understand that personal data about me as a researcher in this application will be held by the relevant FRECs and that this will be managed according to the principles established in the Data Protection Act.		
	Applicant	Student's supervisor (if applicable)
Signature		
Name	Leah Burch	Mark Priestley
Date	01 August 2018	30 July 2018

Appendix G

Informed Consent Form

Informed Consent Form: Workshop

Everyday experiences of hate in the lives of disabled people:
Intersectionality and resistance



1.	I have read and understood an information sheet about this research.	
2.	I have been able to discuss the information sheet and ask questions about the research aims and my role in the research.	
3.	I agree to participate in this research voluntarily.	
4.	I understand that I have the right to withdraw from this research until 1 st September, 2019, and do not have to explain my reasons.	
5.	I understand that the workshops will be recorded and transcribed by the researcher.	
6.	I understand that this research will be shared publically and academically.	
7.	I understand that I must choose a different name to increase my anonymity, but understand that this cannot be guaranteed.	
8.	I understand the distress protocol, and the steps that will be taken during the workshop if I become upset, or a risk to others.	
9.	I confirm that I have received contact details for the researcher, including additional information about support following the workshop.	
10.	I agree to sign and date this informed consent, as a gesture of my agreement to participate.	

Participant Name _____



Researcher Name and Date

Informed Consent Form: Interview

Everyday experiences of hate in the lives of disabled people:
Intersectionality and resistance



1.	I have read and understood an information sheet about this research.	
2.	I have been able to discuss the information sheet and ask questions about the research aims and my role in the research.	
3.	I agree to participate in this research voluntarily.	
4.	I understand that I have the right to withdraw from this research until 1 st September, 2019, and do not have to explain my reasons.	
5.	I understand that the interview will be recorded and transcribed by the researcher.	
6.	I understand that this research will be shared publicly and academically.	
7.	I understand that I must choose a different name to increase my anonymity, but understand that this cannot be guaranteed.	
8.	I understand the distress protocol, and the steps that will be taken during the interview if I become upset.	
9.	I confirm that I have received contact details for the researcher, including additional information about support following the interview.	
10.	I agree to sign and date this informed consent, as a gesture of my agreement to participate.	

Participant Name _____



Researcher Name and Date

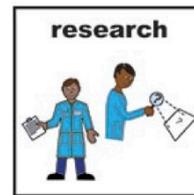
Appendix H

Accessible Information Sheet

RESEARCH INFORMATION SHEET

Title of the Research: Everyday experiences of hate in the lives of disabled people: Intersectionality and resistance

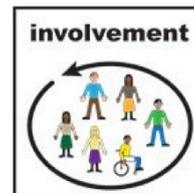
PLEASE NOTE: *You are being invited to take part in a **research project**.*



Before you decide whether you would like to take part, it is important that you understand why the research is being done, and what your role in the research will be. Feel free to ask any questions or raise any concerns about this.

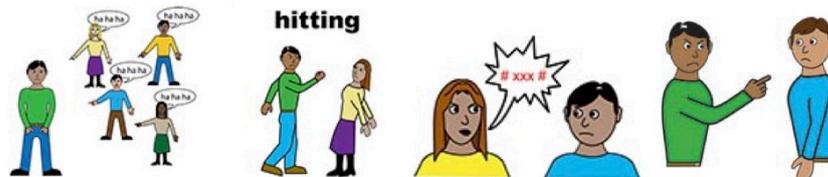


*We can talk about the research before you decide whether you would like to **participate**.*



What is the purpose of the research?

This research aims to gain a better understanding of **hate and hate crime** in the lives of disabled people. The research will explore what hate and hate crime means to you, and what forms this takes. This might include: bullying, name-calling, hitting, and being picked on.



Your experiences can be related to your disability/impairment, race, religion, sexual orientation, sex, gender identity, social status, age, and/or lifestyle choices. Anything about what makes you, you.

Why am I being asked to take part?

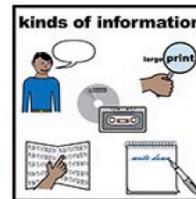
The research wants to talk to disabled people who have experienced, or want to talk about hate and hate crime.

What do I have to do?

Your **participation** in the research would include two **workshops**: one at the beginning of the research and one at the end. This is to explore the meaning of hate crime as an informal group discussion.



There is also the opportunity to get involved with making **interviews** to talk about your experiences, one to one with the researcher.



What are the possible benefits and risks of taking part in this research?

Hate and hate crime is a **sensitive** topic to explore. There are risks of becoming upset when you discuss these experiences. It is okay to become upset and there is a process in place to provide support.



By taking part in this research, you are sharing your stories and helping to influence future discussion, and policy practice. You are encouraged to reflect, and you will work with other participants to think about how we can challenge hate crime together. You might also experience some therapeutic benefits from sharing your stories.



Do I have to take part?

You do **not** have to take part in this research. Please only take part if you would like to.



Will my information be kept confidential?

All efforts will be made to keep your data **anonymous**. This means that you are not identifiable from the research. While all efforts will be made to keep your anonymity, it cannot be guaranteed. By agreeing to take part in the research, you will choose a **pseudonym** (fake research name). All data that you share with me will be kept **confidential**, unless you suggest you are in an unsafe situation and may be at risk. If this is the case, we will discuss options to take this forward.



What will happen when the research is finished?

This research is being conducted for a Post Honour Doctorate (PhD) at the University of Leeds. Your data will help to create a final thesis for this degree. Data will also be published in academic journal articles, blog posts and conference presentations. You will be asked if there is anything you would not like to be used after the project, and have the right to **withdraw** your participation and data during the fieldwork.



How do I take part?

It would be fantastic to have your involvement with this project. If you are interested, and have any questions, then please get in touch with me (Leah Burch). We will have a conversation about the project and you have the chance to ask any question or raise any issues.

Who can I contact for more information?

To get more information, please get in contact with the researcher using any of the following details.

Name: Leah Burch
Email: sslfb@leeds.ac.uk
Telephone: 07375053070

Who is funding the research?

This research is funded by the **Economic and Social Research Council**.

Ethical Review

This study has been reviewed and given the favourable opinion by The University of Leeds on 22nd August, 2018 and the **ethics** reference is AREA 18-002.

GLOSSARY

Anonymous:

Anonymity means that you are not able to be identified within the research.

Confidential

Keeping information in confidence means that the stories that you share with me will not be shared outside of the research.

Diaries

Diaries are pieces of writing (or images) that tell a story or reflect upon an experience. They are personal to you and provide a safe space for you to reflect upon your experiences. Diaries come in a number of different forms, including written, visual and audio.

ESRC

The Economic and Social Research Council is a research and training agency that focuses upon economic and social issues based in the United Kingdom.

Ethics

Ethics describes the moral principles that direct research. Ethics are there to ensure that you are protected against harm during the research, and that you are clear on the terms of your participation.

Hate Crime

A hate crime is any incident that is perceived by you or someone else to have been motivated by hate towards your identity characteristic. This research has a broad definition of hate crime that wants to capture the range of relevant experiences.

Interviews

An interview is a situation where different people can meet, either face-to-face, online, or by other means, and have a conversation about important issues.

Participate

To participate is to be involved with something, or to take part in an activity.

Pseudonym

A pseudonym is a fake name that hides the identity of the author. You can choose your own name to be used in this research.

Research Project

A research project involves different activities being carried out in order to answer questions, or gain a better understanding of a particular incident. Research projects vary depending upon the nature of the research topic.

Sensitive

A sensitive topic might be something that is difficult to discuss or think about. It might be an emotional topic, or cause an emotional response.

Withdraw

The right to withdraw is very important. It means that individuals are able to end their participation in the research.

Workshops:

A workshop is way of researching a topic that brings a number of people together. Workshops are based upon discussion between participants and aims to explore different perspectives and experiences. You have the opportunity to take part in discussion and activities.

Appendix I
Frequency Table ‘what is hate’

Word	Length	Count	Weighted Percentage	Similar Words
bullying	8	280	19.05%	bullied, bullies, bully, bullying
abusive	7	111	7.55%	abus, abuse, abused, abuses, abusing, abusive
calling	7	63	4.29%	call, called, calling, calls
names	5	58	3.95%	name, names, naming
attacks	7	42	2.86%	attack, attacked, attacking, attacks
staring	7	30	2.04%	stare, stared, stares, staring
verbal	6	29	1.97%	verbal, verbally
getting	7	29	1.97%	get, gets, getting
people	6	28	1.90%	people
taking	6	28	1.90%	take, takes, taking
targeting	9	25	1.70%	target, targeted, targeting
violence	8	24	1.63%	violence
picked	6	23	1.56%	pick, picked, picking, picks
mate	4	22	1.50%	mate, mates
sexual	6	22	1.50%	sexual, sexually
discrimination	14	21	1.43%	discriminate, discriminated, discriminating, discrimination
crime	5	20	1.36%	crime
prejudice	9	18	1.22%	prejudice
rape	4	17	1.16%	rape, raped
nasty	5	17	1.16%	nasty
threatening	11	16	1.09%	threaten, threatened, threatening

shout	5	15	1.02%	shout, shouted, shouting
threats	7	15	1.02%	threat, threats
assaulted	9	14	0.95%	assault, assaulted, assaulting
friend	6	13	0.88%	friend, friends
physical	8	13	0.88%	physical, physically
advantage	9	11	0.75%	advantage
fake	4	11	0.75%	fake
hit	3	11	0.75%	hit, hitting
mickey	6	11	0.75%	mickey
beat	4	10	0.68%	beat, beating, beats
money	5	10	0.68%	money
cyber	5	9	0.61%	cyber
exploitation	12	9	0.61%	exploitation, exploitations, exploited, exploits
manipulation	12	8	0.54%	manipulate, manipulated, manipulation, manipulative
stuff	5	8	0.54%	stuff
took	4	8	0.54%	took
battering	9	7	0.48%	batter, battered, battering
burgled	7	7	0.48%	burgled, burgling
harassment	10	7	0.48%	harassed, harassment
laughing	8	6	0.41%	laugh, laughed, laughing
look	4	6	0.41%	look, looking, looks
pushed	6	6	0.41%	push, pushed, pushing
stalking	8	6	0.41%	stalk, stalking
mocking	7	6	0.41%	mock, mocked, mocking
cuckooing	9	6	0.41%	cuckooing
financial	9	6	0.41%	financial

exclude	7	5	0.34%	exclude, excluded, excluding
someone	7	5	0.34%	someone, someones
ake	3	5	0.34%	ake, aking
comments	8	5	0.34%	comments
death	5	5	0.34%	death
fun	3	5	0.34%	fun
violent	7	5	0.34%	violent
beaten	6	4	0.27%	beaten
hair	4	4	0.27%	hair
horrific	8	4	0.27%	horrific
house	5	4	0.27%	house
pulling	7	4	0.27%	pull, pulled, pulling
something	9	4	0.27%	something
vandalised	10	4	0.27%	vandalised, vandalising
controlling	11	4	0.27%	control, controlling
judging	7	4	0.27%	judge, judging
kicked	6	4	0.27%	kick, kicked
kinds	5	4	0.27%	kind, kinds
followed	8	3	0.20%	follow, followed
punched	7	3	0.20%	punch, punched
taunting	8	3	0.20%	taunt, taunting
word	4	3	0.20%	word, wording, words
around	6	3	0.20%	around
bashed	6	3	0.20%	bashed
bossing	7	3	0.20%	bossing
make	4	3	0.20%	make
mick	4	3	0.20%	mick
mugged	6	3	0.20%	mugged
pointing	8	3	0.20%	pointing
saying	6	3	0.20%	saying
slapped	7	3	0.20%	slapped
things	6	3	0.20%	things

throw	5	3	0.20%	throw
throwaway	9	3	0.20%	throwaway
access	6	2	0.14%	access, accessible
allowed	7	2	0.14%	allowed
avoided	7	2	0.14%	avoided, avoiding
away	4	2	0.14%	away
awful	5	2	0.14%	awful
befriended	10	2	0.14%	befriended
boys	4	2	0.14%	boys
bulling	7	2	0.14%	bulling
bullyin	7	2	0.14%	bullyin
constantly	10	2	0.14%	constantly
derogatory	10	2	0.14%	derogatory
discriminatio	13	2	0.14%	discriminatio
emotional	9	2	0.14%	emotional
fighting	8	2	0.14%	fighting
got	3	2	0.14%	got
hey	3	2	0.14%	hey
home	4	2	0.14%	home
insult	6	2	0.14%	insult, insults
intimidated	11	2	0.14%	intimidated, intimidation
let	3	2	0.14%	let
lines	5	2	0.14%	lines
lives	5	2	0.14%	lives
piss	4	2	0.14%	piss
places	6	2	0.14%	places
really	6	2	0.14%	really
robbed	6	2	0.14%	robbed
sex	3	2	0.14%	sex
skit	4	2	0.14%	skit, skitting
smacked	7	2	0.14%	smacked
societal	8	2	0.14%	societal
stealing	8	2	0.14%	stealing
stolen	6	2	0.14%	stolen

stones	6	2	0.14%	stones
talk	4	2	0.14%	talk
teased	6	2	0.14%	teased, teasing
touch	5	2	0.14%	touch, touching
using	5	2	0.14%	using
whack	5	2	0.14%	whack, whacked
winding	7	2	0.14%	winding, winds
act	3	1	0.07%	act
alienated	9	1	0.07%	alienated
argeted	7	1	0.07%	argeted
ask	3	1	0.07%	ask
attackin	8	1	0.07%	attackin
bad	3	1	0.07%	bad
behind	6	1	0.07%	behind
black	5	1	0.07%	black
body	4	1	0.07%	body
bossy	5	1	0.07%	bossy
broken	6	1	0.07%	broken
building	8	1	0.07%	building
chuck	5	1	0.07%	chuck
con	3	1	0.07%	con
confuse	7	1	0.07%	confuse
continual	9	1	0.07%	continual
creative	8	1	0.07%	creative
crim	4	1	0.07%	crim
cruel	5	1	0.07%	cruel
damaging	8	1	0.07%	damaging
dead	4	1	0.07%	dead
different	9	1	0.07%	different
door	4	1	0.07%	door
eggs	4	1	0.07%	eggs
eople	5	1	0.07%	eople
erbal	5	1	0.07%	erbal
every	5	1	0.07%	every

exclusion	9	1	0.07%	exclusion
face	4	1	0.07%	face
fat	3	1	0.07%	fat
freak	5	1	0.07%	freak
front	5	1	0.07%	front
gang	4	1	0.07%	gang
gayboy	6	1	0.07%	gayboy
generic	7	1	0.07%	generic
glares	6	1	0.07%	glares
hassling	8	1	0.07%	hassling
hate	4	1	0.07%	hate
hill	4	1	0.07%	hill
houting	7	1	0.07%	houting
hreaten	7	1	0.07%	hreaten
hurling	7	1	0.07%	hurling
impulses	8	1	0.07%	impulses
jabbed	6	1	0.07%	jabbed
jokes	5	1	0.07%	jokes
just	4	1	0.07%	just
knee	4	1	0.07%	knee
knocked	7	1	0.07%	knocked
lack	4	1	0.07%	lack
legs	4	1	0.07%	legs
life	4	1	0.07%	life
like	4	1	0.07%	like
little	6	1	0.07%	little
lockers	7	1	0.07%	lockers
made	4	1	0.07%	made
mental	6	1	0.07%	mental
noises	6	1	0.07%	noises
obsessing	9	1	0.07%	obsessing
odd	3	1	0.07%	odd
ollow	5	1	0.07%	ollow
online	6	1	0.07%	online

overtakes	9	1	0.07%	overtakes
personal	8	1	0.07%	personal
pieces	6	1	0.07%	pieces
pockets	7	1	0.07%	pockets
poking	6	1	0.07%	poking
premises	8	1	0.07%	premises
pretend	7	1	0.07%	pretend
private	7	1	0.07%	private
property	8	1	0.07%	property
put	3	1	0.07%	put
right	5	1	0.07%	right
ripped	6	1	0.07%	ripped
rule	4	1	0.07%	rule
see	3	1	0.07%	see
shoved	6	1	0.07%	shoved
shuved	6	1	0.07%	shuved
somebody	8	1	0.07%	somebody
sorts	5	1	0.07%	sorts
spastic	7	1	0.07%	spastic
spat	4	1	0.07%	spat
speccy	6	1	0.07%	speccy
spitting	8	1	0.07%	spitting
stick	5	1	0.07%	stick
stole	5	1	0.07%	stole
swear	5	1	0.07%	swear
tacking	7	1	0.07%	tacking
taken	5	1	0.07%	taken
terrorizing	11	1	0.07%	terrorizing
text	4	1	0.07%	text
told	4	1	0.07%	told
tonnes	6	1	0.07%	tonnes
types	5	1	0.07%	types
ulled	5	1	0.07%	ulled
warnings	8	1	0.07%	warnings

weekend	7	1	0.07%	weekend
wheelchairs	11	1	0.07%	wheelchairs